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## FRONTIER HOME REMEDIES AND SANITATION<sup>1</sup>

IN PIONEER DAYS most families had a few simple remedies for ordinary ills. The remedies used for people and for livestock and the ways in which they were administered varied somewhat in different families and localities.

Some of the more common remedies that were kept on hand whenever possible for emergencies were: skunk oil, which was rubbed on the chest in cases of severe colds that settled on the bronchial tubes; bloodroot, a weak decoction of which was taken internally to help ease off a persistent "cold on the lungs," often in connection with the oil treatment; ginger or cayenne pepper, which was taken for fresh colds, in hot water that had been sweetened and sometimes mixed with a little milk or vinegar; black pepper, which was put into hot water and used to "settle the stomach" when that organ threatened to "turn wrong side out"; rhubarb root, senna leaves, and castor oil, which were used as laxatives or physics; camphor, opodeldoc, or a liniment made of vinegar and salt, for sprains and bruises; and alum, which was powdered after heating and applied to sore lips, cold sores, and the like. Pennyroyal was gathered wild on the prairie and was used by some in fever cases, if I remember correctly. Sulphur and molasses and dandelion-root tea played an important part in the lives of most pioneers as

<sup>1</sup> This article, like Mr. Davis' recollections of "Some Frontier Words and Phrases," published *ante*, p. 241-246, is drawn from a manuscript volume of reminiscences, in which the author presents his impressions of various aspects of frontier life in southern Minnesota after 1866. *Ed.*

spring alternatives. They were supplemented by greens—the cooked leaves of mustard, dandelions, cowslips, and other wild plants, and of beets from the gardens. After the long winter, the “oldsters” insisted, the blood was thick, torpid, and slow-moving, and it was their theory that this treatment would “thin the blood,” as they said.

Boneset or thoroughwort and tansy grew in almost every garden. A decoction of boneset leaves was expected to make the patient sweat, and in certain cases it was also used as a mild emetic. Tansy was used as an emmenagogue. Wormwood, which was also grown in many gardens and dooryards, was used as a vermifuge. When a mother saw her child's upper lip take on a slightly bluish-white tint, she said emphatically, “It's worms,” and acted accordingly. Sometimes wormwood was used as a tonic in bitters, a much prized remedy with some, probably because, whatever else was put into the bottle, it was sure to contain a generous proportion of alcohol or whisky. Tonics, such as tincture of iron, goldenseal, and wormwood, were given only when the patient was thought to be in a “run-down” condition, which was usually called “general debility.” It was easy, however, to have the “run-down” feeling when one wanted a bottle of bitters. Pumpkin seeds were considered a good diuretic, although a remedy of this kind was very rarely prescribed.

As an astringent in ordinary cases of diarrhea, blackberry juice or brandy was used when at hand, but other simple substitutes were common. In preparing tonics, the pioneers often used sweet flag, which grew at the edges of the sloughs, and camomile, which was brought from the East and became common in the pastures. The latter was used particularly as a tonic for infants, and it was also administered for coughs and colds. Urine, sweetened, functioned as ipecac and was used in severe cases of croup. For little shavers with colds a syrup made of onions and sugar or molasses was found useful. But for pure unadulterated

cussedness in youngsters, the parents had a very effective, if crude, remedy called "strapoil." When children had measles, they were kept in bed for a week at least and doped with cayenne pepper or ginger tea to "bring out the measles." Every newborn child had to take its allotted portion of saffron tea to clear from its skin the reddish tint or rash. A fat rind of fried salt pork was often given to very young children to suck or chew when they were in a "run-down" condition and no other treatment seemed to be effective.

Teething in infants caused considerable worry in every family. Excessive drooling, long spells of fretting, poor digestion, and loss of appetite and weight were the most noticeable symptoms. Drooling was perhaps the first warning. The child was at once furnished with a bib and something to bite on, such as a ring of ivory or rubber. Harness lines often were equipped with genuine ivory rings. In the absence of suitable rings, any kitchen utensil the child could handle without danger to itself was pressed into service. Careful feeding, a lot of mothering, and the occasional use of a soothing syrup or other medicines that were calculated to keep the baby's system in good condition, usually brought the little shavers through all right. The fact that most mothers nursed their infants for two or more years also may have helped. Teething was fatal only when some complication set in, and that very rarely happened.

Grownups also had trouble with teeth, and often decaying teeth, "jumping toothache," abscesses, and the like became very real and serious afflictions. And there were few dentists in the land in pioneer days. Doctors in the remote towns extracted teeth with what would now, perhaps, be considered crude forceps. It was not often, however, that the sufferer could or would go to a doctor. To ease the pain caused by an exposed nerve, a tiny wad of cotton was often saturated with some strong liniment, camphor, or even tobacco juice (the sufferers were desperate), and packed into the cavity. Liniments or camphor also were rubbed

on the cheek, if it was swollen. Sometimes these treatments seemed to bring relief, often not.

Affected teeth were often allowed gradually to decay until only the roots remained for a doctor to dig out, if given the opportunity. Suffering during the intermittent spells of pain was borne with more or less fortitude, according to the disposition of the patient. After the railway towns attained a size sufficient to support doctors, the extraction of teeth became an important item in an ordinary doctor's practice, especially if he happened to be skillful. Then a patient whose tooth was so affected that it caused severe pain and swelling of the cheek went to the nearest doctor and had it "yanked out," as he said. There was no thought of filling the tooth. Sometimes, too, teeth were pulled by some member of the family with a shoemaker's or carpenter's pincers.

Vaccination was practiced and most people had faith in it. But, with the difficulty of getting large families to doctors and the scarcity of vaccine, many pioneers went without this protection. Often one or two members of a family were vaccinated by the nearest physician and, after the vaccine had "worked" well, the others in the family were vaccinated with matter from scabs on the arms of the first to receive the treatment. Such operations were usually performed by the father or some grown-up member of the family. It was not thought perfectly safe to use the vaccine from one family on members of another, because of the possibility of passing on some impurity in the blood.

Cuts and other open wounds were allowed and even encouraged to bleed freely for a short time, and were then wrapped "in the blood," as was said, with strips of clean cloth, muslin or some other white cloth being preferred. Usually the wrapping was left on the wound at least until the healing process was well started, unless some evidence of infection appeared. Pain, or throbbing, or more than ordinary warmth of the parts affected led to an earlier unwrapping and redressing of the wound. Of course, if the



wound had need of cleansing, it was given a thorough washing with boiled water, if handy, and then allowed to bleed a little before wrapping. The bleeding was supposed to remove all poisonous and foreign matter from the wound and thus prevent the open blood vessels from carrying impurities into the blood stream. If infection developed, strong healing and drawing salves were applied, and sometimes saleratus was used. This would bring about healing, after suppuration set in, when other remedies failed.

Burns that did not blister were treated with whatever soothing ointment or salve was at hand. It was rubbed over the surface of the burn or scald and the affected parts were then wrapped with a clean cloth. Sometimes camphor or sweet oil was applied, and if the burn was not too severe the healing process was left to nature. When blisters developed, healing ointment was applied as quickly as possible and the wound was carefully bandaged. Such treatments usually sufficed, but if healing seemed to be too slow, or suppuration set in, redressing, often with stronger salves or saleratus, followed.

Carbuncles and boils were treated with poultices, which were often made of dried bread, crumbled, softened, and well mixed with sweet milk. Sometimes, into this was mixed a little white of egg, crushed boiled onion, corn meal, or wheat bran. The powdered leaves of some herb that was thought to have a drawing quality or would be likely to help soften the skin, or the soft, sticky substance obtained by soaking or boiling the inner bark of the red elm tree, known as "slippery elm," also often was added to the poultice mixture. Of course all these things were never used at once. The mass was applied hot and was expected to keep the affected part soft and moist and to have a drawing effect, thus helping nature to eliminate the poison or whatever was causing the disturbance. Poultices sometimes were applied to wounds that were believed to be infected. Mustard plasters and salves were used commonly and usually with good

results. When a felon developed, the end of the affected finger was tightly bound with several thicknesses of muslin or some other thin cloth that had been cut into narrow strips. The finger was then pounded with a carpenter's or shoemaker's hammer, while the groaning of the patient made the entire family uncomfortable. After this a poultice was applied. Such heroic treatment was credited with hastening the "coming to a head" of the abscess.

Usually the mother was the family doctor and only rarely was outside help called in, except in cases of accouchement. Then a regular physician was sent for, if one was within reach, and two or three experienced neighbor women always came in.

Among the names of diseases commonly heard on the frontier, but seldom, if ever, heard now, were congestion of the lungs, lung fever, inflammation of the lungs, and consumption. The latter might be "galloping consumption," "quick consumption," or "lingering consumption." The terms "quick" and "galloping" were applied to cases that developed very fast and ended ordinarily in from three to six months. Lingering cases ordinarily lasted fourteen years, it was said. Inflammation of the bowels included what is now called appendicitis, perforation of the bowels, and all other serious disturbances in the abdominal cavity that developed dangerous inflammation. Summer complaint was a form of diarrhea that occurred in hot summer weather. Any disturbance of the liver was described as liver complaint, and most cases of prolonged indigestion were called dyspepsia. Sinus infection was known only as a cold in the head and was treated as such. If the cold became chronic, it was called catarrh, and the treatment that was considered most effective was a general toning up of the patient's system. Neuralgia of the face was often called *tic douloureux*.

In each neighborhood there was usually a horse doctor, that is a man who professed to know something about the

diseases of horses and cattle. Some of the remedies he used were logical enough. A cow or "critter" was said to have "lost its cud," however, when the local horse doctor did not know what was wrong with it. In such cases, a wet dishrag was balled up and pushed down the sick animal's throat.

Living conditions were practically the same in all the small frontier houses, whether they were built of logs, sod, or lumber. Lack of room to turn around, as the women said, was the great difficulty. In the crude dwellings of one, two, or, rarely, four rooms, there was little opportunity for ventilation in cold or stormy weather. Usually the air that came in when the outside door was opened was about all the fresh air that entered. Even then, when the youngsters went in or out, almost without fail someone would exclaim in no gentle tones: "Shut the door ye little tike an' don't slam it!" Sometimes he would add, "We can't heat all outdoors." Under frontier conditions, sanitation as we now understand the term was impossible.

Very little bathing was done in the small frontier houses during the cold winter months. In warm weather, the rivers, lakes, and sometimes the clear water sloughs served for what bathing was done by the men folks. The practice of bathing was by no means universal even in summer, as was evidenced by the atmosphere in the small schoolrooms.

Cleanliness about the house, then as now, depended largely on the disposition and health of the housekeeper. Most of the homes were kept fairly clean, some of them remarkably so, conditions considered. Homemade soap, hard and soft, was used, the hard soap being cut into big oblong cakes. All wood surfaces, including chairs and tables, were scrubbed thoroughly and often, and kept practically white. The painted surface of a kitchen chair seat soon became white and thick boards rapidly became thin from scrubbing. Good housekeepers were not so rare as some would have one believe. Cleanliness was considered a virtue, of course, but

not because of the fear of germs. It would seem that ages of experience taught people many things that the germ chasers were to learn with infinite labor and concentrated thought scores of years later.

Among the greatest enemies with which housekeepers had to deal in summer were flies, and from these pests there was no mechanical protection. In fly time there was a continual fight. One method was to "shew" the flies out and close the doors and windows when possible. On very cool mornings they could be swept from the walls and burned, and at times they were kept moving by waving a leafy branch over the table during mealtime, especially when there was company for dinner.

Perhaps the most difficult of situations in connection with living in small houses on the sparsely settled prairie came when a settler, already "put to it" for sleeping room for his own family, was obliged to furnish shelter for travelers during storms or for relatives who came to visit from a distance. This was always done without sign of disinclination or reluctance to accommodate. After all it was a simple matter. A place on the floor was cleared, it was swept clean, and blankets or robes or both, as supplies warranted, were spread over a space wide enough to accommodate the extras, who bunked down with most of their clothes on—side by side—men, women, and children, as occasion and modesty seemed to dictate. If youngsters were restless, or the women embarrassed, such incidental things were borne with as unavoidable inconveniences of frontier life and one never heard the government blamed for any of these hardships. Indeed, as I remember it, the average family gloried in its ability to meet and overcome any difficulties and untoward conditions that the raw new country had to offer.

LEROY G. DAVIS

SLEEPY EYE, MINNESOTA

## GEORGE NORTHRUP, FRONTIER SCOUT<sup>1</sup>

WHEN GEORGE NORTHRUP was a boy living in central New York in the 1840's, he read Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* and other stories of the romantic West which filled his head with visions of Indians, prairies, and great forests. His desire to see these things at first hand resulted in many interesting experiences, which he describes in a collection of letters received by the Minnesota Historical Society from his grandniece, Mrs. Theresa MacEwan of Lafayette, New York. The present account of his career is based in large part upon these papers.

Northrup was born in central New York in 1837. When he was six years old, Alice M. Patten of Chicago painted his portrait at his parents' home in Lafayette. By 1852 the family had removed to Pompey, New York, and in that year the fifteen-year-old boy left home to work and study at Dennsville, in the same state. Before he finished his own education, he was invited to teach school and, thinking that he could learn as much by teaching as by studying, he accepted the offer. In his letters to his sister in this period, he urged her to progress rapidly in her studies and not to spend too much time at oyster parties. Many years later he wrote that "few place more value to an education than myself, no one can feel more keenly the grave mistake . . . of a life time, of a youth of fifteen years deserting the school room to adopt the wild habits of the Mountaineer and Voyager."<sup>2</sup>

From Dennsville Northrup wrote on June 20, 1852: "I

<sup>1</sup>A revised version of a paper read at the afternoon session of the eighty-eighth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society on January 18, 1937. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup>Northrup to Teresa Northrup, November 8, 1852, January 24, 1853, March 5, 1855; to Alice Humphreys, December 3, 1863. All the letters cited are among the Northrup Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

think some of going West next summer. I think it is the best thing I can do. . . . I shall go somewhere any how For I shall not stay around here long. that is certain And dont think it requires a great deal of Mental courage to Leave Dennsville." In March, 1853, he wrote that he might go to the copper mines on Lake Superior. Instead, he went to St. Paul and found employment in Auguste L. Larpenieur's mercantile and fur-trading establishment. But life in the store was dull and commonplace, and wealth and adventure beckoned to the young Easterner from the wilderness farther to the northwest. His first letter from the West, dated St. Paul, September 3, 1853, tells of his plans:

I pen these few lines in a hurry to inform you that I start to day for Red River of the North next to the British line in the service of the American Fur Company. It is six hundred miles from this place to Pembina or selkirk through a pathless wilderness<sup>3</sup>

We pass through the Sioux, Winnebago Chippewa, and Assinaboines country on the Route. There are only Six of us, including Mr [James] Tanners wife who is as good a shot as any one of the party. she bought herself a double barrel[e]d gun yesterday. she is a Chippewa half breed as well as Mr Tanner who also is a half breed. He is a Missionary and son of the Tanner that it speaks of in Thatchers Indian Traits.<sup>4</sup> I bought me a good rifle and Revolver. It will take us about Forty Days to make the journey and we pass through the Buffalo Count[r]y. . . . I expect to do well so well that I shall come in the Dog train this winter, Loaded with Furs of my own. You can still send your letters directed to me and put on the corner of the envelope, In the care of "G[eorge] H. Spencer Jun," St Paul who is a clerk in the store where I have been. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Having arrived at Pembina, Northrup wrote on November 18, 1853:

<sup>3</sup> The distance from St. Paul to Pembina, on the Red River just south of the international boundary, is about four hundred and fifty miles. J. W. Bond, *Minnesota and Its Resources*, 334 (New York, 1853).

<sup>4</sup> Tanner's father was the famous scout, John Tanner, whose story is told in Benjamin B. Thatcher's *Indian Traits*, 1: 107-114 (New York, 1833). The younger Tanner and his wife were returning to their station at Pembina, where they had labored since 1852. James P. Schell, *In the Ojibway Country*, 112, 123-126 (Walhalla, N. D., 1911).

<sup>5</sup> In 1851 Spencer went from Kentucky to St. Paul, where he was employed by Larpenieur for eight years. Thomas M. Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul*, 1: 284 (St. Paul, 1886).

Well here I am away out of all creation & civilization, away something about two thousand and 500 miles from old Dennsville, and have been 200 miles beyond. Yes and I have walked out of that distance 900 miles what do you think of that nine hundred miles. To use the Yankee phrase it is "some pumpkins," . . . this may seem somewhat curious to you & mother but it is a fact that I did make the journey from St. Paul to Pembina for nothing more nor less than to go out on the plains and kill a Buffalo. . . . I killed my Buffalo and have the tongue which in all probability you will have a taste of, If I should go down in the Spring I did calculate to go down this winter but I have concluded to stay here this winter and teach the Protestant Mission School as the Missionaries wanted me to very much. And if I should take a notion to stay longer I shall receive a full salary of \$400 a year) I rec[e]ive 20 Dol a month now.

The young tenderfoot replaced Elijah Terry, who had been killed by hostile Sioux before he assumed his teaching duties. While Northrup instructed Chippewa, Cree, and Assiniboin children, he began to learn Ojibway, as well as French, for many half-breeds understood only the latter. He found that:

There is a regular war going on here between the Protestant and Catholic Missions The Catholic Priest told the Half breeds that if they sent their children [to] the Protestant school or the one of which I am teaching, The devil would have them that they had committed a sin which he could not forgive and God never would.<sup>6</sup> However as soon as the school was established, The Children came in crowds to learn "kiji aniwene cum eganoko ami" or White mans knowledge as they expressed it. I have the honor of being the first Protestant teacher in this part of Minisota, That is teacher of a Protestant school Although I do not pretend to be a Protestant any more than a Catholic or Jew or Mohomadan, still I think I have as good a right to be ranked among the civilized as though I had been through all the process of Christian making. Not wishing to "brag" any but will say that I have not smoked a pipe of Tobacco, or Cigar, or chewed a cud of the "weed" or to swear any although I will say "Devil" once in a while when there is no one around. So after giving you a description of my character and morals I will make this addition, nor indulged in lasciviousness, for which this country Is the worst of any I ever saw. Every W[hit]e man that comes here leaves "his mark" in the shape of a human being<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The priest, Father Georges Belcourt, had been at Pembina since 1849, according to his own statement in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1:180.

<sup>7</sup> Northrup to Teresa Northrup, December 12, 1853.

Life in the northern wilderness involved a variety of hardships. On January 3, 1854, Northrup reported:

New Years Day is the general kissing day of these people. I wanted to get away without alone somewhere to escape the Kissing Fixings But could not as it was so cold, that it was imposible for me to stay out in the woods. If It had not . . . been sunday I should have taken my gun bundled myself up warm and left for the woods. I however made up my mind [to] stand the "brunt of battle" and shutting my teeth hard I went through with it Old wrinkled squaws came painted up with all the Gaudiness of an Indians taste. These kissed me as [I] would rather give \$50 than kissed them. But the Half breed women were not so ugly. Well if I did not thank my stars when night came on "there theres no snakes in Ireland."

The youth who was the object of this attention was quite attractive in appearance, if a description in his letter of March 11, 1854, is accurate:

I was weighed the other day and weighed 161 pounds, and am in heighth 5 feet and 9 inches in my Moccasans. . . . If you should some day put your head into a log house that stands near the Red River, You would see a person with Auburn Hair reaching below the shoulders A Blue Hudson's Bay coat of "Kaposé" with a sort of Hood on the back to pull over the head when it is *very* cold weather, with white moleskin pants, and a Red Sash around the waist with a large knife in its scabbard stuck in the belt, with a pair of fancy Moccasans will complete the discription of the aforesaid person. Well that person is my self, and in the Half Breed Costume

Spring found Northrup "20 miles up the Pembina River," at a place called "Ke'che'na'ah'ynang," or the "Big Point of Woods." On May 14, 1854, he wrote:

We are building the Mission houses. There are but 4 of us, as there are no Indians or Half Breeds that have courage enough to work here in so small a party, With the exception of Pecheto with 3 tents who does not work, staying here merely to protect us. A large party of Sioux are on [the] other side of the Pembina Riv[er] opposite us also another war party of some 200 warriors are within ½ days journey of Pembina and on the east side of the Red River. I have been in the woods to chop, When I have not the least doubt but that I was watched by half a dozen Sioux. For at one time a Half Breed discovered where several sioux had lain, together with 4 balls that they had lost from their pouches. myself and another man had worked close by there the day before As for Myself, I rely upon my knowl-



edge of the Sioux language for safety, though that will avail me but little, unless I see them before I am fired upon. I have forgotten a good deal of Sioux since I have been here, having nobody to talk with in that language. I am making considerable progress in Chipewewa. in 3 weeks I shall go to the great Plains, with Pecheto who has invited me to go with him, giving me the use of a horse, one of the best Buffalo Runners in the country, also a cart if I want it. He will board me on the best that the country affords, Take the best care for my safety and Protection and does not charge me a cent. The party will be large as they go out to dry Buffalo Meat for the winter. They generally stay about 3 months.<sup>8</sup> But I shall come back in 2 as Pecheto says he will send some of [the] loaded carts back on my account. my stay on the Plains was very limited last fall. I will also have a chance to pick up curiosities of the Region that stretches from the Red River to the Missouri. we shall go very close to the last named River if not to it. I shall also have a good opportunity to see and study Indian life. There will not be one who understands a word of English in the whole party, excepting myself and I do not pretend to understand much of that. our route will be about West.

The buffalo hunt lasted from the first of June until early September. From Pembina Northrup wrote on September 17, 1854, that he had returned "safe & Sound. We were within sight of the Missouri River. Travelled all through the Assiniboine Country, Following the Buffaloes from one side of the Plains to the other." He continues:

The next day after my Arrival or the next night after Mrs Spencer wife of our Missionary was shot through the window while lying in bed<sup>9</sup> 2 half ounce balls passed directly through her breast and lodged in the timbers of the House A foul and cowardly deed. the sight of the poor woman whom I saw but a few hours before ali[ve] and well but now lying in the Agonies of death maddened me. I resolved to punish the fiendish murderers, and several nights I lay out with my rifle,—watching. I saw them but twice. One night I had taken to my old place. A little while after dark (the night was very dark,) I became aware that some one was near me although I could not see them, passing along very stealthily by me I observed some dark objects getting over the fence in a corner of which I had ensconced

<sup>8</sup> The buffalo hunts of the Red River half-breeds took place in the summer and autumn of each year. John Pope, *Report of an Exploration of the Territory of Minnesota*, 31 (31 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 42—serial 558).

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. David Spencer and her husband had joined Tanner at the Pembina mission in May, 1853. Schell, *In the Ojibway Country*, 133.

myself. I had several bullets in my mouth ready to reload in case they made a stand, and putting my hand to my side for my horn to have a charge of Powder in my hand, when I discovered that I had lost it or left it at the house. To fire any [*sic*] only charge would be foolish; so the rascals got away. . . .

We are all going to the states this fall Tanner, Spencer, [Norman W.] Kittson & Myself So but 1 American will be left.<sup>10</sup> they will return next summer; when, probably a fort will be erected here. I think of going to Nebraska or Kansas.

Very little is known of Northrup's whereabouts from September, 1854, when he wrote his last letter from Pembina, to January 27, 1855, when he wrote from St. Paul:

I have just returned from a trip to the headwaters of Black River in Wisconsin Where I came very near "Going Under" as the phrase goes. I was, with 4 others for nearly 4 weeks without food. I had the good fortune to kill a deer in the meantime. this lasted us two days. A few Prairie Hens 1 squirrel about a dozen muskrats, was all that passed our jaws, until we arrived in the Dutch settlements on the Mississippi more dead than alive.<sup>11</sup> 2 of my com[rades] are not expected to live I came up here by the River Mail Stage getting in last saturday night. . . . I am clerking in a book store at Present.<sup>12</sup>

On April 10, 1855, Northrup was still in St. Paul, but he had the wanderlust again, for he wrote:

Have packed up my books. shall start for the Missouri over the Plains in the summer. shall endeavor to make my trip a useful one. Am studying Mathematics, and navigation.

You will probably hear from me at some point near the Rocky Mountains. Am not certain which direction [I] shall take. have been offered 30 Dollars a month as guide and Indian Interpreter, but I do not like the Region they are going [to] (the North Shore of Lake Superior)

A few months later the eighteen-year-old lad started out to follow westward the trail covered by Isaac I. Stevens in

<sup>10</sup> Kittson was engaged in the fur trade and had a store at Pembina between 1844 and 1854. Clarence W. Rife, "Norman W. Kittson, A Fur-Trader at Pembina," *ante*, 6: 225-252.

<sup>11</sup> The "Dutch settlements" were probably near the present village of New Amsterdam, Wisconsin, where a group of Hollanders settled in 1853. See "Historical Notes" in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 8: 369 (March, 1925).

<sup>12</sup> There were three bookstores in St. Paul in 1856: C. Hamilton & Company, Combs & Brother, and George Little.

1853 on his survey of a route for a Pacific railroad. His only companion was a dog and all his supplies were packed in a handcart. For thirty-six days he trudged along without seeing a human face or hearing any voice but his own. He found the monotony of loneliness almost maddening. On the barren couteau of the Missouri he was no longer able to trace Stevens' trail and found instead a war path of the Sioux. One morning the contents of his handcart were missing. So he turned toward the nearest trading post, at Big Stone Lake. For four days he lived on raw frogs. Accounts of this expedition appeared in contemporary newspapers, but his letters contain no mention of it.<sup>13</sup> Northrup left no known trace of his activities until July 28, 1855, when he wrote from "Pajuta Zee" or Yellow Medicine, the Indian agency on the upper Minnesota, saying very briefly:

I am in Uncle Sams service at *good* wages which I mean to *lay up* and with a good prospect of some thing better *soon*. I shall go up to the Big Stone Lake, head of Minisota or St Peters Riv. to give the Sissitons Sioux's some instruction in farming soon.<sup>14</sup>

On November 14, 1855, he reported that "6000 Sioux have received their annuities within a week I had to ticket them all in two days and in the Indian Language which is very difficult." In the following June, Northrup "received orders from head quarters, to take charge of an expedition of 15 men, 78 head of cattle and 8 heavy loaded waggon destined for the Upper Country." He expected to break five hundred acres of land for the Sisseton of Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse.<sup>15</sup>

While still engaged at the agency, he toyed with the idea of buying some land and settling down. He tried to persuade his family and relatives to join him in the West by describing a particular spot in a letter of March 5, 1855:

<sup>13</sup> See *New York Daily Tribune*, July 4, 1855; Edward Eggleston, "The Man-that-Draws the Handcart," in *Harper's Magazine*, 88: 466-475 (February, 1894); *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, February 4, 1894.

<sup>14</sup> Northrup's name is not mentioned in the printed reports of the Indian agents in Minnesota for this period.

<sup>15</sup> Northrup to Teresa Northrup and Mrs. L. E. Bishop, June 16, 1856.

Well in *all* my travels There is no spot which I have seen like Otter Tail lake; 110 miles North of St Paul. The lake is 40 miles long 15 wide and is the heart of the Red River. from here to Winnepeg a distance of 500 miles exists one continued stream of Navigation a steam boat will be built on here in less than two years. As yet No white person lives within 50 miles, and the eyes of but few white men have rested upon this beautiful lake

After mentioning the variety of wild fowl that frequented the lake and the abundance of wild rice and maple sugar groves, he concluded:

But few know of it, but as soon [as] it becomes more generally known; people will come in from all quarters. "Hole in the Day" a chippewa chief is in Washington treating for his land's this includes the lake, though a good ways from his country.<sup>16</sup>

On February 12, 1856, Northrup asked his mother to give him the authority, as the oldest child in the family, to pre-empt a hundred and sixty acres of land "somewhere in the vicinity of Shakopee 35 miles from Saint Paul." He was sure that "in one year it will be worth 10 Dollars per acre, and [I] can get it now at the Government Price \$1.25 per acre." There is no evidence in Northrup's letters, however, that he ever pre-empted land near Shakopee. He had another ambitious scheme when he wrote on April 18, 1857, from Yellow Medicine:

I want to lay off a town site Northward and make arrangements for a future home, then I am going to look around for a *partner*. Not yet 21 and think of marrying! this is decidedly a progressive age. Minnesota is my home now — my fortune lays in the future prospect of the soon will be state. the coming summer she forms a state constitution.

Northrup never married, and so far as is known he never laid out a town site. He decided that he was "as well posted up in the Indian Trade, the character of the Indians generally as any one," and he saw no reason why he could

<sup>16</sup> In February, 1855, a treaty was negotiated at Washington by which the Chippewa of the Mississippi and other bands surrendered a large tract of land in northern Minnesota, including the Otter Tail Lake region. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1: 307 (St. Paul, 1921).

not make money in the trade. He wrote on October 7, 1857:

Some two months since I dispatched a party of 3 men (with a team of 2 horses and who also took with them a heavy and valuable load,) to the Devils Lake to build a trading post cut hay &c. I had intended to go myself as I know my own business best, and better acquainted with the country than any one whom I could hire, but as I had promised the "Company" that I would not leave them until after the "Sioux Payment" (Which was protracted by difficulties with the Indians caused by the demand of the Governm[en]t to deliver up the spirit Lake Murderers Inka pa duta and others,) I was obliged to remain here<sup>17</sup>

None of Northrup's men returned at the end of two months, and it was rumored that they had been killed by Indians. Northrup was determined to carry on the fur trade and went himself to the junction of the Cheyenne and Red rivers. When no word was received from him for several months, a St. Paul newspaper expressed the fear that he had been killed. To the editor's surprise the missing hero walked into the newspaper office a short time later.<sup>18</sup>

Northrup mapped the route for Russell Blakeley's stage line from St. Paul to the Red River, and in July, 1859, guided the first two coaches that made their way over the road. Traveling in the coaches was a hunting party, including Sir Francis Sykes, en route to the buffalo ranges near Fort Edmonton. When the stage reached Georgetown, the steamboat "Anson Northup," on which the passengers intended to travel down the Red River, was found to be tied up for the season. A flatboat was, therefore, built and Northrup piloted it to Fort Garry. Thence he accompanied the hunters in a subordinate capacity, but before their return he was

<sup>17</sup> Inkpaduta, a Sioux chief, was the leader of a massacre near Spirit Lake, Iowa, and in Jackson County, Minnesota, in the spring of 1857. By official order none of the Sioux of the Mississippi region received annuities until after they had attempted to capture Inkpaduta. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 2: 400-415.

<sup>18</sup> *Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), April 28, June 25, 1858.

made their chief guide.<sup>19</sup> A short time later Northrup went to the Red River region again to examine the steamboat "Freighter," which had failed in an attempt to sail into the Red from the Minnesota. He was then in the employ of James C. Burbank and Company, which owned the "Anson Northup" and planned to refit it by using parts of the machinery of the "Freighter."<sup>20</sup> In the summer of 1860 Northrup served as a watchman on the "Anson Northup." Edward E. Eggleston, who encountered him on the steamboat, reported:

He is well known as the Kit Carson of the Northwest, and is employed by Mr. Burbank on account of his wonderful knowledge of the wilderness, through which he frequently travels on business for his employer. I had heard so much of him as a voyageur, that I expected to meet a stalwart, weather-beaten son of the forest, far advanced in life. Instead of that I found him a boyish looking man of twenty-three with soft beard, and flowing brown hair falling on his shoulders, but pushed back of his ears. His complexion is fresh and ruddy, and so far from having the "brag" that we always associate with the idea of a great hunter, he is modest almost to shyness, though very communicative. His whole bearing is such that you would imagine, but for his frontier dress, that he had been accustomed to a parlor rather than a forest. His language is always proper, frequently elegant, though as unaffected as a child. . . .

He has been among the Indians nine years and is thoroughly acquainted with their character, habits, and legends. He thinks Lynde's book will lack completeness because he has confined himself to one portion of the Dakota nation.<sup>21</sup> I tried to persuade him to publish his own knowledge of the Dakota's but he says he has no ambition for distinction. He only came west to see these scenes and not for

<sup>19</sup>Among the passengers also were two Scotch women, Eleanora and Christina Sterling, one of whom was going to Lake Athabasca to marry an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company. *Boston Daily Journal*, June 25, 1859; *Pioneer and Democrat*, June 10, 26, July 9, 1859; *New York Evening Post*, July 2, 1859.

<sup>20</sup>*Pioneer and Democrat*, November 22, 1859.

<sup>21</sup>James W. Lynd's "History, Legends, Traditions, Language, and Religion of the Dakotas" was never published. The author had just completed the manuscript, when he was killed in the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. While plundering the store at the Redwood agency, where the manuscript was kept, the Indians destroyed or disposed of a great deal of it. Some chapters were later salvaged and placed with the Minnesota Historical Society. Stephen R. Riggs, "Memoir of Hon. Jas. W. Lynd," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 3: 112-113.

celebrity. I had a curiosity to know where he got his mental cultivation as he has been in the west since he was fifteen years of age. He told me frankly that he had a library of 150 volumes at Graham's point. . . .<sup>22</sup>

During the following winter this "Kit Carson" was engaged in carrying mail from Fort Abercrombie to Pembina. He journeyed by dog sledge with a half-breed assistant, sometimes through raging blizzards.<sup>23</sup> When he wrote again on July 15, 1861, from Georgetown, the Civil War had broken out:

As for my self I am lacking in that most important commodity, courage, and will hardly dare venture into the neighborhood of Dixie's worthy sons.

But should they carry the war "into Africa," and get me cornered I shall likely muster enough to—drop my shooting iron and run. However I don't think that I can be more useful in the army than on the frontier. We've got hard customers to take care of on the Border and unless they look well to No 1 we'll let them alone savagely.

I had a horse stolen and another shot not long since by the Indians I succeeded in getting him back about 200 miles out. I think there will be a good deal of such work this summer going on, and it will hav[e] to be met in the proper way to stop it. The Yanktons can become a dangerous enemy but I hope since Gen [Nathaniel] Lyon, [James H.] Lane, and [James] Montgomery have punished the Missouri rebels some what that Secession will not influence the Indian tribes. Their emissaries are no doubt at work but they cannot effect much at the back of an army, once commenced in the south and there remains no doubt but that it would spread to all the different Indian tribes.

Considerable excitement prevailed in Sa[i]nt Cloud Western Minnesota in regard to this subject and I addressed a couple of letters to persons' in that neighbor hood which had the effect to allay it. they were published and extensively copied.<sup>24</sup>

I shall visit Saint Paul in the course of 2 weeks to meet a party of Englishmen whom I am to take out on the Plains

<sup>22</sup> Eggleston, in the *Daily Minnesotian*, July 18, 1860.

<sup>23</sup> *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, February 4, 1894.

<sup>24</sup> Two letters, dated June 4 and 7, 1861, appear in the *St. Cloud Democrat* for June 14, 1861. In them Northrup states that fears of an Indian uprising as a result of a Sioux council at Lake Traverse are ungrounded. He points out that the Chippewa named Bevaness, who spread the rumor that the Red Lake Indians intended to murder the whites, was a scoundrel and a liar. It was he who stole Northrup's best horse and shot another.



The experienced guide accompanied these hunters to a place near the Couteau of the Missouri, where they were attacked and captured by about two hundred and fifty Teton Sioux. After being robbed of horses, money, and provisions, and miraculously escaping death, they started on foot for Georgetown, where they arrived after eight days. A frontiersman who met them there observed that "George stood it well enough, but the Englishmen looked awful hollow."<sup>25</sup>

Northrup says that he "was beginning to think of selecting some spot among the beautiful Lakes on the edge of Woodland . . . near the Upper Mississippi When the Clarion of War was sounded. the South had raised her head to rend asunder our devoted union. I enlisted."<sup>26</sup> He was mustered into service at Fort Snelling on November 2, 1861, sent to Benton Barracks in Missouri, and assigned to Company H of the Fifth Iowa Cavalry. Many of the letters that he wrote while in the service were addressed to Miss Alice Humphreys of Oberlin, Ohio. He never saw her, but a note that she slipped into a pair of socks fell into his hands and inspired an interesting correspondence.<sup>27</sup> He wrote to her on November 9, 1863, after an illness of some weeks:

I found my Regiment at Winchester and joined it just as the pursuit of the rebel "raiders" under [Joseph] Wheeler and [Gabriel C.] Wharton commenced. Once more in the saddle and I rapidly regained my usual strength and health, and during the month of October was on the march nearly every day.

Soon after Northrup enlisted he became fourth sergeant, and later attained the position of first sergeant. On December 3, 1863, he wrote:

<sup>25</sup> *Pioneer and Democrat*, August 29, October 13, 1861; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, February 4, 1894.

<sup>26</sup> Northrup to Alice Humphreys, September 22, 1863.

<sup>27</sup> Miss Humphreys sent copies of her letters from Northrup to his mother, and thus they were added to his papers. See Alice Humphreys to Louisa T. Howard, January 1, 1865.



Gen. [George] Crooks our Division commander sent for me one day and requested me to go into his "Scouts," it having been represented to him by some of his staff with whom I [was] acquainted, that I was guide and hunter for many years in the Northwest.

He has only six at present, and he relies wholly upon us for information in regard to the movements of the enemy and his wher[c]-abouts; although moving in close proximity and sometimes *among* the enemy, we *never* doff our uniform.

Before one of his scouting expeditions, he wrote to Alice: "I have a presentment that I shall never reach our lines again, when I shall have crossed into the enemys [line], on the present trip."<sup>28</sup> Northrup survived, however, and was able to enjoy a month's furlough, during which he visited his sister and her husband, Henry L. Cole, in Lafayette, New York. When Northrup re-enlisted, the three Minnesota companies in the Iowa regiment were organized into an independent battalion of cavalry under Major Alfred B. Brackett.<sup>29</sup> It was ordered to Fort Snelling, whence Northrup wrote on March 26, 1864:

This is a dull life for me. I am used to more excitement, since I have been in the army, and had much rather hear the shriek of shot and shell than the eternal "left left left" of the sergeants drilling new recruits in the Fort yard.

The organization of the expedition that is to penetrate the Indian Frontiers of the North west proceeds slowly—grass will not be high enough to subsist our animals until May.

Gen [Alfred] Sully will conduct another expedition up the Missouri, which we will join after drawing the Indians across the Missouri.<sup>30</sup> the whole column will then follow them up and then pass to the Black Hills. They must fight or lose their families which will most certainly fall into our hands. We may visit Idaho

<sup>28</sup> December 24, 1863.

<sup>29</sup> Isaac Botsford, "Narrative of Brackett's Battalion of Cavalry," in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1: 573 (St. Paul, 1891).

<sup>30</sup> The Sioux Massacre of 1862 caused such intense hatred and fear of the Indians that an expedition was sent out in 1863 to capture or destroy the savages who were roaming the western plains. A fighting column, made up mainly of infantry regiments under the command of General Henry H. Sibley, failed to meet the cavalry contingent headed by General Sully. Since the 1863 expedition was not completely successful in attaining its object, another expedition against the Indians was organized in 1864. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 2: 278-295.

Ter. before we return. If I scout as much here as I did south, it may become a pleasant duty to relate or rather narrate, some very difficult scouts with "hair breadth" escapes," or the unpleasant duty of comrades to chronical the loss of my hair and inform you of the demise of your friend.

As correspondent of the *Saint Paul Press*, Northrup sent to that newspaper a series of letters written along the route of the expedition. Writing under the pen name of Icimani, he reported the arrival of the battalion at Sioux City, Iowa, in his letter of May 29 and added:

I am grieved to record the death of William T. Plummer of Company C, of this command.<sup>31</sup> He was a likely young man, and although but a few months enlisted, gave every promise of making a good soldier. He was buried with the customary military honors, near the crossing of Floyd river.

Messrs. Geo. A. Brackett, Capt. [David] Redfield, Ans[on] Northrup [sic] and Geo. McLeod overtook us a day's march out from this place, having made the trip from St. Paul in the extraordinary short space of five days.<sup>32</sup>

Besides furnishing the transportation for this Battalion throughout the entire campaign, he [George A. Brackett] also furnishes 500 head of fat cattle for Gen. Sully's command, to be delivered on the Missouri River, at the point where the "Minnesota" expedition forms a junction with Gen. Sully; also 200 yoke of oxen and same number of wagons for Gen. Sully's expedition, to be delivered here. These contracts, if successfully filled, will be enough to stamp him or any one else as a business man.

A letter written to Alice from Sioux City on May 26 reads in part:

The "Idaho" Boats were seized her[e] by the General for Government transportation, and the Gold Seekers will have to deter the opening of the rich gulches of Idaho, until we can get our mate-

<sup>31</sup> Plummer enlisted on April 1, 1864, at the age of twenty-one and died on May 19, 1864, "on the march from Fort Snelling to Sioux City." *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1: 591.

<sup>32</sup> Brackett, who was under contract to move Brackett's battalion from St. Paul to Sioux City, made the trip in a buggy. See Brackett's autobiography, p. 10, among his papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The "Minnesota," or second brigade, met the first brigade, commanded by Sully, near the mouth of the Cannon Ball River late in June. David L. Kingsbury, "Sully's Expedition against the Sioux in 1864," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 452.

rial for the campaign up to Ft. Pierre.<sup>23</sup> The Indians are reported as having assembled at a point near the mouth of Heart [?] river, well toward the Yellow Stone with the avowal [*sic*] purpose of resisting the advance of the expedition and putting a terminus to Idaho emigration.

. . . I enclose you the picture of a *special* friend, the "Standing Buffalo," who is most likely with the Indians waiting for us above here.

Northrup expected to meet this Indian in battle despite the fact that earlier they had exchanged presents in a ceremony that bound them together as "Mita Hoda" or the "two friends." Northrup says "'Standing Buffalo' is the only Indian I would treat thus ceremoniously." The red man had tried to come to his rescue when he was taken prisoner by the Yanktons while hunting at Devil's Lake in 1858 or 1859. Northrup managed to escape by his own efforts, but he appreciated the good will of Standing Buffalo.

Northrup's letter of July 1 relates that:

Capt. Fielding was shot by the Sioux day before yesterday and died two or three hours afterward. The Indians laid in ambush at a pool of water in the bed of the Little Shayenne river near the head of the timber, calculating to kill the first person who approached the spot. It was the intention of Gen. Sully to camp on that stream and the Captain went on ahead with the advance Scouts, and was one of the first to get within range of their guns. There were only three Indians whom we pursued and killed. We chased them 8 miles when they finally took shelter in a Buffalo wallow, but not deep enough to completely cover them, they were soon stretched out. The general had their heads struck off and placed on posts near the spot where the Captain was shot.

Steamboats on the Missouri River and the passengers they were carrying to and from the gold mines are mentioned in Northrup's news letter in the *Press* of July 17.

<sup>23</sup> The "Cutter" and the "Chippewa Falls" had proceeded up the Missouri to Fort Randall, when Sully's order brought back the "Chippewa Falls" after its passengers had been transferred to the "Cutter." *Saint Paul Press*, June 7, 1864. Gold had been discovered in northern Idaho in 1860. In 1862 the Teton Sioux, protesting the invasion of their lands, attacked one party of gold-seekers. Consequently the Sully expedition was instructed to erect military posts on the route to the gold mines. Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 2: 295.

One of the steamers transported an immense quantity of buffalo robes and fresh buffalo meat. Northrup was disturbed because the fur companies were trading with the very Indians the government was trying to bring to terms.

From the site of Fort Rice near the mouth of the Cannon Ball River, Northrup wrote to Alice on July 11:

One hundred and fifty miles from here we expect to meet the Warriors of the hostil[e] Sioux in battle. They are not anxious for peace and we must teach them a salutary lesson. we are determined to do it.

He adds a note of premonition: "Where my next may be written from I cannot tell. perhaps this may be the last you will ever receive from me." And it was his last letter.

On July 28 the battalion encountered the Indians in almost the very spot that Northrup anticipated. He was one of the two white men killed in this, the major battle of the expedition.<sup>34</sup> Later, one of his comrades wrote to his mother:

I have met the Q[uarte]r Master, & who was with & close to Geo when he fell. he was killed by both bullets & arrows, as there was a bullet passed clear through him & arrows sticking in him, he died instantly, & as I said before was some on ahead of his company. They laid him out & kept him one day before burial, & buried him in the eve, & so disguised his grave that the Indians will not find it. could not get a coffin & buried him in blankets.<sup>35</sup>

GERTRUDE W. ACKERMANN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

<sup>34</sup> For a description of the battle see *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1: 581.

<sup>35</sup> John Curtis to Mrs. L. E. Bishop, November 28, 1864.

## FATHER HENNEPIN'S LATER YEARS

THE INTERPLAY of French and English designs in Hudson Bay, in the Illinois country, in Carolina, and at the mouth of the Mississippi in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries has never been clearly envisaged. It was not mere coincidence that Father Louis Hennepin was concerned with two of these areas; that D'Iberville operated in two such distant regions as Hudson Bay and Louisiana; and that William Blathwayt, a member of the board of trade and plantations, fought for British control of Hudson Bay in the negotiations in the Low Countries preceding the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, backed a mining venture in Carolina, sponsored Father Hennepin in England, and assisted Dr. Daniel Coxe, who planned English colonies in the Illinois country and at the mouth of the Mississippi and who was the chief exponent of British control in North America. What seems to be coincidence is explainable on other grounds, notably on the fact that a group of men in France and a similar group in England had both the business acumen to see the value of the three regions for investments and the funds and initiative to begin activities in them. It was natural, moreover, that the two groups came eventually into conflict.

Father Hennepin's career from 1698 to 1701 is connected with the purposes of both Blathwayt and Coxe. His books, published in 1697 and 1698 in Utrecht and London, are the result of that connection.<sup>1</sup> This fact, too, explains the claim set forth in them that he had discovered the mouth of the Mississippi two years before La Salle reached the gulf.

<sup>1</sup> *Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand pays situé dans l'Amérique* (Utrecht, 1697); *Nouvelle voyage d'un país plus grand que l'Europe* (Utrecht, 1698); *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (London, 1698). For some appreciation of Coxe's and Blathwayt's connections with Hennepin, see Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, ch. 3 (Durham, North Carolina, 1928).

There was no use for Great Britain to settle Louisiana unless it had at least a plausible claim to discovery of the area before any Frenchman had been there and claimed it for France.

So Hennepin found himself in Holland in 1698, where M. Dusson de Bonrepaus, a former member of the French commission provided by the treaty of neutrality of 1686 to settle the ownership of the Hudson Bay area between France and England, was the new French ambassador, and where Blathwayt was serving William III. Blathwayt, it may be recalled, had drawn up for the Hudson's Bay Company a reply to the French claim to the bay that was used by the English commissioners in the parleys of 1687.<sup>2</sup>

On June 26, 1698, Bonrepaus wrote to Pontchartrain, the French minister of state:<sup>3</sup>

You know, Monsieur, who Father Hennepin is — the Recollect and former missionary in Canada. He wrote an account of Louisiana, then returned to his native Spanish Flanders, where his restless spirit took him to the English and Dutch in his endeavor to find a way to get back to North America. The king of England received his proposals favorably and has been supporting him in Utrecht, where he has written two volumes on the discovery of the Mississippi. He has dedicated his book to the King of England along with dedicatory letters that are illuminating and extremely curious, coming from a religious. Now he is printing a third volume of discoveries which he claims to have made in that part of the world; but the same restless spirit which made him leave France now causes him to want to return to it. He has come to me with his proposal, and I have told him only that I should have the honor of writing about it to you, Monsieur. I now do so, not because I believe that this man can be very useful to you for advancing the North American colonies, but because I believe

<sup>2</sup> Minute book, A/1/9, June 24, 1687, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, London. This document was consulted through the kindness of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

<sup>3</sup> The correspondence of Bonrepaus and Pontchartrain is in *Monuments historiques*, K 1349, IX *Négociations*, Holland, Archives nationales, Paris. The item here quoted is number 75. Henri Froidevaux has printed excerpts from the original French document and of some of the following letters in his "Un épisode ignoré de la vie du P. Hennepin," in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, 2: 281-287 (Paris, 1905). They may also be found in J.-Edmund Roy, *Rapport sur les archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada*, 59-62 (Ottawa, 1911).

that you would not be averse to getting him out of that country and to sending him to Quebec, where there are a number of his order. There Count Frontenac could hold him on some pretext of using him in the Quebec missions and thus prevent him from returning to that country to urge the English and Dutch to make new establishments in the south of North America. I will await your instructions in this matter, but I will keep the secret that you have confided to me and which I find necessary to keep.

Pontchartrain replied on July 2, 1698:

I reported to His Majesty what you wrote me about Father Hennepin, Recollect, and I will write you his pleasure in the matter.

He wrote again on the ninth:

I have reported to the King what you wrote me about Father Hennepin. His Majesty wishes that he be permitted to return to France and will grant him permission to return to North America as he wishes.

Bonrepaus wrote again on July 17, 1698:

Since I had the honor of writing you, Monsieur, on the subject of Father Hennepin, he has come to see me and has shown me letters written to him from England, from which it appears that a company is being formed there for the Mississippi, and that he has been asked for memoirs on the subject. But as he is very restless, he confided to me his desire to make a turn in Italy, and he has found an opportunity through the captain of a great Tuscan vessel now at Amsterdam, who offers to take him as chaplain of his vessel. I did not think it necessary to turn him from this project, since he is not necessary in Canada, my idea being only to get him out of the country and away from a chance to incite the English to make new colonies in North America. However, he has told me that he will go back to France and so to Canada as soon as I indicate that you wish that step to be made, and he has left me his address. But this man knows nothing of that country which you cannot better learn from the memoirs of the late M. de la Sale and from other persons who are still in the service and who assisted in that discovery.

On July 23, Pontchartrain replied, stating that it did not matter whether Hennepin went to Italy or to Canada, since he was unable to give as reliable information on Louisiana as others.<sup>4</sup>

On May 27, 1699, the king wrote to Louis Hector de

<sup>4</sup> Bonrepaus-Pontchartrain correspondence, numbers 85, 88, 89, 90.

Callières and Jean Bochart, Marquis de Champigny, governor and intendant, respectively, of Canada:<sup>5</sup>

His Majesty has been informed that Father Hennepin, the Flemish Recollect formerly in Canada, would like to return there. As His Majesty is not satisfied with the conduct of this religious, he wishes you to seize him if he returns there and to inform the intendant at Rochefort, to whom His Majesty has signalized his wishes in the matter.

At that very time the English company's colonists and a French contingent under D'Iberville's brother, Sieur de Bienville, were meeting on the Mississippi. D'Iberville recognized in Captain William Bond of the English vessel an old rival in Hudson Bay.<sup>6</sup> Northern air must have stimulated British fighting blood, for D'Iberville had not had his way unchallenged in the bay. Now there was no fighting. The English yielded and Coxe's plan for a larger Britain in Louisiana went for naught. Louisiana became a French colony.

Was the friar with the English colonists? There is a possibility that he was. The evidence lies in the correspondence of two French savants, Jean-Baptiste Dubos and Nicolas Thoynard, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. On July 13, 1699, Dubos wrote to Thoynard:<sup>7</sup>

I send you hearty thanks for your full and learned account of Monsieur D'Iberville's voyage. I have no doubt that aid will soon be sent to his new colony. You are at hand to warn against arrival in the

<sup>5</sup> Vol. 20, series B, folio 199, Archives des colonies, Paris.

<sup>6</sup> Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 56, 57. William Bond was a captain in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. For data on him consult the Hudson's Bay Company Archives; J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *Documents Relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, 400 (Toronto, 1931); memorandum of March 23, 1687, in Robert Boyle Papers, XXI, science 2, number 59, Royal Society, London; and an affidavit of Bond, May 20, 1687, C. O. 134/1/205, Public Record Office, London.

<sup>7</sup> Dubos (1670-1742), the author of the excerpts herewith printed, was a savant, historian, critic, and numismatist of the seventeenth century. He was secretary of the Académie Française and corresponded with many of the savants of his period. Geography and voyages inter-



Gulf of Mexico in the period of the northern and northwestern winds, which prevail in certain months of the year, and of which Dampiere, who knows the regions so well (having spent two or three years on Trinidad) discusses so learnedly.<sup>8</sup> If Father Hennepin had not hidden himself already, he would have to do so on the appearance of this authentic description of the mouth of the Mississippi, so totally different from what he says that he saw. Until now I have sought news of him in vain.

The important reference, however, from the American point of view, is in Dubos' letter from Brussels, dated September 4, 1699:

Until now I have forgotten to inform you that I was lodged at Utrecht with Michelet, the author of the letter to the Recollects at Valencia, which was written to get more definite news regarding Father Hennepin. It is about a year ago that he left Utrecht to go to England to embark, so it was believed, for America.

It is perfectly possible that Hennepin was with the English and French Protestant colonists who were turned back by D'Iberville. If so, he returned to Europe, for Dubos wrote from Rome on March 1, 1701:<sup>9</sup>

ested him particularly, and it was he who introduced the ideas of his friend, John Locke, to France. Thoynard, or Thoinard (1629-1706), to whom the letters of Dubos were written, was born at Orléans, the son of Nicolas Thoynard and Anne de Beauharnois (Beauharnais in modern spelling). He was related to Charles de Beauharnois, the governor of Canada, for whom a fort in Minnesota was named. He was also related to Pontchartrain. There are many letters from the Beauharnois family in Thoynard's correspondence, which fills four volumes in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Nouvelle acquisitions, vols. 560-563). It is replete with interest for American and Canadian history. In it one finds data on Abbé la Gallinée, La Salle, D'Iberville, Le Sueur, and other explorers, for, like Dubos, Thoynard was interested in geography and exploration. Father Francis J. Schaefer used the Dubos-Thoynard correspondence concerning Hennepin, or some work based thereon, in the preparation of his article on "Hennepin, the Discoverer of the Falls of St. Anthony," in *Acta et Dicta*, 6: 54-85 (October, 1933). For the present letter, see Thoynard Papers, vol. 560, folio 299.

<sup>8</sup>William Dampier (1652-1715) was an English captain, buccaneer, pirate, and hydrographer, whose *Voyages and Description* (1699) contains "A Discourse of Winds" that is notable among early essays on meteorological geography and is still worth study. He also published in 1699 his *Voyage round the World*.

<sup>9</sup>For the letters quoted, see Thoynard Papers, vol. 560, folios 311, 312, 357, 358.

Apropos of the Mississippi — Father Hennepin is here, lodged at the Convent of L'Ara Cœli.<sup>10</sup> We have tried to see each other, but thus far in vain. However, tomorrow I shall go to see him so early that I shall not miss him. I am told that he bamboozled [*emberluquoqué*] Cardinal Spada<sup>11</sup> into supplying him with funds for a new mission in the Mississippi country. I shall tell you all about that in my next letter.

Unfortunately, the letter was not preserved with the rest of the correspondence, if it was written and delivered. No information about the remainder of Father Hennepin's life has been found. Probably he died shortly in Rome, for he was already an old man.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

<sup>10</sup> The church of Santa Maria in Ara Cœli, on the capitol in Rome, was from 1250 the general's residence of the Franciscans.

<sup>11</sup> Fabrizio Spada, a member of an Italian family that gave four cardinals to the church in one century, was born on March 18, 1643, and died on June 15, 1717. After being archbishop and papal nuncio, he became a cardinal in 1675.

## BAYARD TAYLOR'S MINNESOTA VISITS

WHEN BAYARD TAYLOR RETURNED from Europe in December, 1853, after two years of foreign travel which had included visits to England, Spain, India, China, and Japan, he was already recognized as one of the greatest of American travelers. Ever since he began, as a lad of nineteen, those wanderings which he later chronicled in *Views Afoot*, he had been an almost constant globe-trotter. Indeed an unkind observer once remarked that Taylor had traveled more and seen less than any man alive! Nevertheless, his fame was widespread, and on his return to the United States he was deluged with invitations to lecture and to appear in lyceum courses throughout the country. Taylor at first was hesitant about plunging into this kind of work, but those who had read his travel correspondence in the columns of the *New York Tribune* would not be denied. Moreover, Taylor had recently saddled himself with an enormous country estate, Cedarcroft, near his native Kennett in Pennsylvania. There was no better way to liquidate his debts than to mount the public rostrum, and mount the rostrum he did.

It is hard to realize today the endurance required by a popular lyceum speaker of the fifties and sixties. Lectures in all kinds of places ranging from auditoriums to dimly lighted and poorly heated barns, innumerable introductions to strangers, poor accommodations, bad food, almost incessant travel—this was the portion of Emerson, of Wendell Phillips, and particularly of Bayard Taylor. One wonders if any other lecturer of the time spoke as frequently and in as many places as did Taylor. On his first tour, which lasted from January to May, 1854, he fulfilled ninety engagements, for which he was paid fifty dollars apiece. In the nine-year period between 1858 and 1867 he spoke over

six hundred times and, lest his lecturing be considered as a minor activity, found time as well to publish nine books.<sup>1</sup> In these extensive peregrinations, which took Taylor to almost every important city in the land, he could not well have missed Minnesota, and it is interesting to note that he paid the state three visits, in 1859, in 1871, and in 1874.

Taylor's first appearance in Minnesota was the result of his willingness to help the growth of infant libraries. In the spring of 1859 he announced that he would lecture before any literary society which would pay his expenses and a small fee (usually fifty dollars), the balance of the proceeds to be devoted to the benefit of the society which sponsored his appearance. As a result the Young Men's Christian Association of St. Paul induced Taylor to give six lectures in Minnesota, guaranteeing him three hundred dollars plus expenses. Two of these lectures were delivered in St. Paul, and one each in St. Anthony, Minneapolis, Stillwater, and Winona.<sup>2</sup>

Taylor arrived in St. Paul on the evening of May 21, 1859. He and his wife made the last part of their journey by steamboat and they both enjoyed greatly the voyage up the Mississippi. Taylor himself left no record of his impressions of this, his earliest visit to the Northwest, but there is an interesting description of St. Paul in the book which Marie Hansen-Taylor later wrote about her husband.

On the evening of the second day we went aboard the small steamer which was to carry us up the Mississippi to St. Paul. The trip, which occupied several days — the boat steamed between the low and sparsely settled banks of the river and past numerous small green islands — was not without its charm. . . . Saturday evening we finally arrived in St. Paul. The ten-year-old city, with its 10,000 inhabitants, rises in a series of terraces on both sides of the broad river. As in all these new towns of the West, the dwelling houses are built separately, scattered over a disproportionately large area. Here also everything is still in the rough and incomplete; it is evident that the buildings were put up in haste, and that the settlers had an eye more to business

<sup>1</sup> Albert H. Smyth, *Bayard Taylor*, 102, 178 (Boston, 1896).

<sup>2</sup> *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), May 27, 1859.

profit than to comfort and convenience. I know of nothing more uncongenial than such a youthful city, much as I admire the courage and energy to which it owes its existence.

Mrs. Taylor concluded her account with two blunt sentences about St. Paul's neighbors to the west.

St. Anthony, not far distant, with its falls of the Mississippi reminding me of the Rhine falls at Schaffhausen, and the four-year-old town of Minneapolis across the river, are situated at the end of civilisation. North of these two places the only inhabitants are Indians, bears and wolves.<sup>3</sup>

Some days before the lecturer's arrival the St. Paul papers had printed announcements of his appearance as well as the subjects of his two local lectures, "Moscow" and "Life in the North." Tickets sold for fifty cents apiece, and it was understood that the net proceeds would be devoted to the library fund of the Young Men's Christian Association.<sup>4</sup> The *Pioneer and Democrat* of May 21 announced that Taylor would speak that evening at the First Presbyterian Church and feared that the audience might tax the capacity of the building. The paper especially solicited "the sympathy and kind forbearance of the ladies," and it respectfully requested "that their scope be made to correspond to the pressing exigencies of the occasion." The *Minnesotian* of the same date saluted Taylor in verse, the "Lines to Bayard Taylor" being written expressly for the event by a poetess who signed herself A. N. S.

A hearty welcome we would give  
Thee and thy stranger bride;  
Thou art in all thy wanderings,  
Our country's joy and pride.

Later Taylor was apostrophized as

A traveler with thy sandals on,  
'Tis thus we think of thee,

<sup>3</sup> Marie Hansen-Taylor, *On Two Continents*, 72 (New York, 1905). Marie Hansen, daughter of a Danish mathematician, was Taylor's second wife. Mary Agnew, whom he married on October 24, 1850, died in December of the same year.

<sup>4</sup> *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 7, 12, 17, 18, 1859.

and was asked whether he had found any spot, in frigid or torrid zone, which he preferred to Minnesota.

Taylor's lectures in St. Paul were well attended. According to the *Daily Times* of May 25 both occasions were interesting and profitable.

Those who heard his lecture on Moscow, the once proud capital of a mighty empire, were charmed with the artistic and finished style of the lecturer, and the gorgeous manner in which he painted with words its splendor and magnificence. His lecture upon the Arctic Regions, all were delighted with, and regretted that the time passed so quickly during its delivery.

The fullest account of Taylor's first St. Paul visit appeared in the *Minnesotian* of May 23. In an editorial commenting on the lecture on Moscow the paper observed:

Mr. Taylor is not as large a man as many had been led to expect from previous descriptions. He might be called handsome; of a light complexion and somewhat browned by travel. This lecture was wisely adapted to the public requirements—preserving the proper medium between shallowness and profundity. It was made up of a perfect *melange* of facts, fancies, anecdotes, picturesque descriptions, and lively historical allusions.

Taylor's language, the *Minnesotian* remarked, was "what the women call beautiful"—in other words almost too rococo and sparkling. Yet the lecturer impressed his audience by his good sense in shaping and adapting his material, by his judicious arrangement of what he had to say, and by his pleasant delivery. The paper predicted that the lecture would live in the memory of its hearers as "a glittering, glancing, moving panorama of genius and jewels, tartars, turbans, feathers and frippery."<sup>5</sup>

Following his second lecture in St. Paul on May 23 Taylor went to St. Anthony, where he repeated his talk on Moscow, and to Minneapolis, where he again discussed life

<sup>5</sup> During Taylor's sojourn in St. Paul two local papers reprinted extracts from his writings. The *Pioneer and Democrat* of May 22 printed an article which it captioned "Bayard Taylor's Christmas Ride in Norrland." In the *Daily Times* for the same date appeared Taylor's "First Difficulties with Foreign Tongues."

in northern Europe. In both cities he was welcomed by large and enthusiastic audiences. According to the *Falls Evening News* of May 24,

Taylor is the most genial letter-writer, and resolute traveler America has ever produced, and will draw a larger audience than any other cis Atlantic contemporary. He is in demand the year round, and his presence with us at this time will be received as a most fortunate event, and improved as such a rare circumstance deserves to be.

Later the same paper remarked that Taylor lectured "for F-A-M-E — 'Fifty And My Expenses.' He speaks of St. Anthony Falls as being very grand and picturesque and as far exceeding their reputation." Taylor pleased the editor by praising the Winslow House, a hotel of which St. Anthony was justly proud.<sup>6</sup>

Taylor's Minneapolis appearance, at the Methodist Church on Oregon Street on the evening of May 25, has a special interest today because of the lecturer's connection with the formation of the Minneapolis Athenaeum. Earlier in the month a group of Minneapolis citizens had resolved to organize a literary association and to avail themselves of Taylor's offer to lecture. The result of this meeting was the appointment of a committee, which eventually recommended the adoption of a constitution. The Young Men's Literary Association of Minneapolis was then organized, and it adopted a constitution and elected officers. When Taylor spoke on May 25 the proceeds grossed \$141.75; Taylor was paid \$58.25 as fee and expenses, and the balance, \$83.50, was turned over to the newly formed association, presumably for the purchase of books.<sup>7</sup> This was the beginning of a municipal library in Minneapolis. On the occasion of Taylor's second visit to Minnesota the *St. Paul Daily Pioneer* of July 27, 1871, recalled the lecturer's earlier visit with its literary associations. "The Athenaeum of today," it re-

<sup>6</sup> *Falls Evening News* (St. Anthony and Minneapolis), May 26, 1859.

<sup>7</sup> *Subject Catalogue of the Minneapolis Athenaeum Library*, iii (Minneapolis, 1884).

marked, "is the harvest that has been gathered from the seed planted at that time."

Twelve years elapsed before Taylor returned to Minnesota, this time not as a lecturer but as a journalist and reporter. In the interim he had visited England and Germany, he had acted as secretary of the legation at St. Petersburg, he had seen Switzerland and the Italian lakes. In addition he had dabbled as a war correspondent, had delivered lectures on German literature at Cornell University, and had covered most of California on a return speaking tour. In the summer of 1871, Taylor once more interrupted his literary work (he was then engaged on the second part of his great translation of *Faust*) to accept a newspaper commission. At that time the financier Jay Cooke was deeply interested in the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and his house was attempting to float first mortgage gold bonds to finance the work.<sup>8</sup> If the railroad was to be built, it was necessary to win the interest and confidence of the public. Cooke, as a consequence, organized a journalistic tour which included representatives of the leading newspapers of the country and which was planned to acquaint the travelers with the terrain which the new railroad would exploit. Taylor, of course, represented the *New York Tribune*.

The itinerary of the "editorial excursionists," as the party was soon dubbed, included a boat trip from Buffalo to Duluth, then a rail journey to the Twin Cities, and a combined rail, stagecoach, and steamboat excursion to Winnipeg and Fort Garry. Taylor recorded his experiences in a series of eight fascinating letters to the *New York Tribune*, running at intervals through August, 1871, and captioned "The North-West."

<sup>8</sup> For a typical advertisement see the *New York Tribune*, July 19, 1871, in which the bonds are announced as redeemable in gold and secured by a first and only mortgage on the entire road and its equipment, as well as on twenty-three thousand acres of land for every mile of road completed. The bonds were also announced as tax exempt.



The journalists reached Duluth on July 20 on the steamer "R. G. Coburn" after having seen Isle Royale and Thunder Cape en route. Taylor was greatly impressed by the grandiose scenery of the North Shore of Lake Superior, which he compared to the fjords and pinnacles of the Norwegian coast. Duluth also interested him, although he spoke contemptuously of the new epithet which the town's ambitious citizens had recently adopted: "The Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas"!<sup>9</sup> "One would think that life was too short, and American nature too practical, for such a phrase; but there it is." But he observed that Duluth had a royal situation; "her houses are so lifted by the slope that they all show, and the first impression is that of a larger place." He praised his hotel for its elegance and comfort, and declared that the city had accomplished a great deal in three short years. Already it was a town of four thousand people, with spacious streets, five churches, and a daily train and steamboat. "When the hideous burnt forests around it shall have been cut away, the ground smoothed, cleaned, and cultivated, and gardens shall have forced the climate to permit their existence," Taylor predicted, Duluth "will be one of the most charming towns in the North-West." He observed the shortage of arable land but prophesied a future prosperity dependent on the slate and granite quarries, the iron mines, and the wheat fields of the Red River Valley. Already that year, he reported, Duluth had shipped half a million bushels of wheat. Railroad connections would amplify and cement this activity.<sup>10</sup>

The citizens of Duluth did not neglect the opportunity to impress their visitors. The journalists were entertained at "a charming hop in their honor . . . gotten up at the Clark House," were regaled with a "splendid supper and dance at the same place," and were taken for a steamboat

<sup>9</sup> *New York Tribune*, July 29, 1871. The epithet is said to have been used first by Dr. Thomas Foster in a speech delivered July 4, 1868. See *Duluth News-Tribune*, July 4, 1937.

<sup>10</sup> *New York Tribune*, August 5, 1871.

excursion around the bay and over to Superior; while for those who preferred angling there was a fishing expedition along the shore to Knife and French rivers. A grand banquet was given with the mayor presiding and Colonel Charles H. Graves acting as toastmaster. Taylor, one of several speakers, chose the sentiment "Round the World." On the morning of July 22 the party left Duluth for the Twin Cities, a group of local celebrities escorting the journalists some sixty miles.<sup>11</sup>

The Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad followed for some distance the course of the St. Louis River, which so interested Taylor that he and Dana rode in the cab of the locomotive. The dalles, he observed, provided "the first approach to really fine scenery which we have yet found." The narrow river valley soon was transformed into a gorge, the rapids becoming cataracts and the dark brown water itself altering to an amber foam. But from Thomson onward the country grew poor and ugly. "Mile after mile of ragged, ugly, stunted forest," Taylor reported, "standing in its own rot and ruin, only varied, now and then, by reedy, stagnant-looking pools or lakes, which had the effect of blasting the trees nearest to them." After eighty miles of this the members of the editorial party reached the division point of Sicoots, where they were entertained at lunch by Colonel D. C. Lindsley, chief engineer of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The afternoon journey Taylor found less diverting than the morning travel, although he observed that in the vicinity of Hinckley the pineries of the St. Croix began to fade until they were replaced by open, slightly rolling agricultural country. Dusk overtook the travelers near Wyoming so that the approach to the Twin Cities was utterly obscured, but Taylor was quick to discern a change in the settlements which he had not seen for twelve years.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Duluth Daily Herald, Duluth Minnesotian*, July 22, 1871.

<sup>12</sup> *New York Tribune*, August 16, 1871; *Pioneer*, July 23, 1871.

In St. Paul, he wrote,

We were installed in a hotel [*Metropolitan Hotel*] of metropolitan proportions and character; the streets had become massive and permanent in appearance; the ragged-looking, semi-savage suburbs were wonderfully transformed into sumptuous residences and gardens—in short, St. Paul seemed to be not only fifty years older, but to have been removed three degrees further south. Its former bleak, Northern aspect had entirely vanished.

Everywhere the traveler observed smooth lawns, pleasant foliage. In Minneapolis he found to his inextinguishable regret that the beautiful Falls of St. Anthony had been sacrificed to business. Sight-seeing occupied much of the visitors' time, and Taylor was shown among other spectacles Minnehaha Falls and Colonel William S. King's farm with its famous blooded stock. He was not greatly impressed by the former, commenting on the fact that its commercial possibilities had not been realized. But, he reasoned,

After a while Minneapolis will stretch down in that direction, and the gorge will be filled up by an immense manufacturing establishment, with the cascade driving its huge wheels. Minnehaha is the luckiest waterfall in the world; it has achieved more renown on a smaller capital of performance than any other I ever saw. Norway has a thousand nameless falls of greater height and beauty; Ithaca, New-York, has two-score, only locally known; but this pretty, unpretending tumble of less than a hundred feet is celebrated all over the world.

The Twin Cities, he asserted, were natural and bitter rivals and would continue to be so because of their proximity to each other until one or the other gained an insurmountable ascendancy. Taylor did not predict when that time would be or which city would triumph, but he did add one blunt remark: "There is certainly more industry in Minneapolis, and more wealth in St. Paul—more life in the former, more comfort in the latter." He closed his third *Tribune* letter with praise for the Nicollet House, both for its furnishings and for its food, and with a reference to a dinner and a serenade which the visitors had been tendered.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *New York Tribune*, August 16, 1871.

The morning of July 25 the "editorial excursionists" set out for Fort Garry, a special train conveying them over the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad as far as Morris; from Morris they traveled via stagecoach to Pomme de Terre and thence to Nolan's Tavern, opposite Fort Abercrombie on the Red River. Taylor was immensely pleased and perhaps a bit surprised by the farm land adjoining the Twin Cities.

The belt of carefully-farmed country around Minneapolis is still narrow, but it has all the charm of an older region. The tracts of timber are constantly interrupted by little lakes, from one to three miles in extent; and it is remarkable how a farm-house and a few grain fields give to each of these an air of long-established cultivation and comfort. Lake Minnetonka, 15 or 20 miles from Minneapolis, is a charming sheet of water, about 25 miles long, but with so many indented arms and bays that it has a shore line of nearly 200 miles. There is here a Summer hotel, a little propellor for excursions, and a few sail-boats for fishing parties.

Farther on he noticed that the country grew wilder and more lonely. Farmers were cutting meadow grass for hay, the dry season making the practice profitable. The travelers, speeding along at thirty miles per hour, did not find the trip monotonous but instead enjoyed the varying shades of green and the undulations of the land. "After a number of first faint efforts at towns," Taylor wrote, "we reached Litchfield, aged two years, and already grown into some large frame buildings, an elegant hotel, and \$600 lots." He praised the Scandinavians for the readiness with which they adapted themselves to strange conditions and he thought that the country through which he traveled bore a distinct resemblance to the valley of the Platte in central Nebraska. The town of Benson proved to be only a cluster of houses, while Morris, the temporary end of the railroad, was a mere six months old and had many of the earmarks of a portable community. At Morris, where it was necessary to shift to stagecoaches, a considerable redistribution of personal effects was made; and Taylor commented on the changed appearance and the lightened luggage of the travelers. Flan-

nel replaced boiled shirts, sardines and crackers and cigars peeped out from convenient crannies, and fowling pieces were everywhere visible.

The coach ride was at first not unpleasant. Taylor compared the terrain with southern Nebraska, which it fully equaled in richness; in addition it boasted "numberless little lakes, bright, lonely tarns, generally with a timbered bluff on the northern side. All the most attractive situations are being rapidly claimed by settlers." But Taylor remembered Pomme de Terre only for its filth and soot and for the clouds of pestiferous mosquitoes. The stage journey was brought to an end at the banks of the Red River. Across from the travelers loomed Fort Abercrombie, with adjacent Indian lodges silhouetted against the crimson sunset. Even for a man who had seen the Orient the scene was impressive. Taylor was romantic enough not to forget the beauty of the prairie contrast.<sup>14</sup>

At Fort Abercrombie Taylor and his party were welcomed warmly by the officers and were conducted officially around the post. But the correspondent was obviously more interested in the settlers moving rapidly into the new country than he was in the garrison. For one who had been with Commodore Perry in Japan, sailors and soldiers were hardly a novel spectacle. Taylor observed that the tides of immigration were already sweeping in over the great fertile plain of western Minnesota. Between Brainerd and the Red River he estimated that there were thirty thousand people established on the land, and he repeated the comment made to him by a native that in one day twelve hundred wagons had been seen, all bound for the vicinity of Detroit Lakes. Twenty-five miles beyond Fort Abercrombie the party stopped at the hut of a Norwegian settler who had recently augmented his original cabin. "He has laid in a good stock of prairie hay for the Winter," Taylor reported, "but his agriculture is still scanty. He came to the

<sup>14</sup> *New York Tribune*, August 16, 1871.

place between two and three years ago, with \$60 in his pocket, and has already been offered \$2,000 for his property. Like every Scandinavian whom I have met in this region, he is perfectly contented, and prefers the new home to the old." But not all the white inhabitants of the country seemed as worthy and as honest. Before entering Oak Port, a temporary camp settled mainly by gamblers and prostitutes, the journalists examined the priming of their revolvers and loosened the pistols in their holsters. The settlement itself proved far less dangerous than they had anticipated, but later Taylor remembered unpleasantly one visible sign of barbarism: a man whose ear had been chewed off in a fight and who kept the loose fragment joined to the side of his head by a piece of court plaster.<sup>15</sup>

From Frog Point, the head of navigation on the Red River during periods of low water, to Fort Garry was a distance of four hundred water miles; and Taylor voiced his surprise at the meandering stream which was to supply the final route to his destination. The Red River he found to be "a deep, swift river, about 70 feet wide, winding between sloping banks of verdure, and elms so old and spreading that their branches almost meet above the water." But a little later he was amazed at the shallowness of the stream and he complained that although the "Selkirk," the little boat on which his party traveled, drew only two feet of water, it was in frequent danger of going aground. Taylor's description of the luxuriant vegetation calls to mind Chateaubriand's fanciful picture of the Mississippi which he never saw.

An unbroken mantle of willow and hazel, knotted together with wild convolvulus and ivy, enveloped both banks down to the water; behind this foliage stood large, scattering elms, ash and box-elder; and all were mixed together in such a tangle of riotous growth that we could well have believed the stream to be the Red River of Louisiana. The current was so swift, and the bends so sharp and frequent, that the steamer was continually bumping against one or the other bank, and

<sup>15</sup> *New York Tribune*, August 17, 1871.

the sun seemed to perform a rapid dance around all quarters of the sky.<sup>16</sup>

After the first shock of surprise, however, the novelty wore away, and Taylor and his companions found the slow voyage to Manitoba rather fatiguing. The fowling pieces laboriously carried this far soon came into play and the travelers shot from the deck at hawks, ducks, owls, pigeons, usually with no great execution. Along the lower reaches of the river, cabins were seldom seen and even the solitary canoe of Indian or voyageur seldom dotted the surface. At Fort Pembina the party was received by the commandant. But Taylor was sadly disappointed by the town of Pembina itself, a straggling, unkempt community of two hundred Chippewa, half-breeds, and soldiers. He found no habitations other than filthy log huts and scant signs of farming or gardening. With the buffalo already three hundred miles westward, he speculated on the food supply of these improvident idlers. The climate he claimed was little different from that of St. Paul, the people were generally enthusiastic about their new home, and if the land seemed deadly monotonous, the monotony was at least fertile! Taylor closed his fifth letter to the *Tribune* with a series of antitheses. Northwestern winters were long and hard like those of Norway, but the land gave signs of growing a plenitude of wheat. Timber was unfortunately wanting, but the soil produced the finest potatoes in the world. Moreover, he gloated with all the zeal for exploitation of Jay Cooke himself, the country was easily accessible by a railroad. "Therefore, it verily hath a future!"

Along the Manitoba shores Taylor saw nothing but half-breeds, who failed to impress him. "Their dark faces, long black hair, gay blankets, and general aspect of dirt and laziness promise nothing for the speedy civilization of the

<sup>16</sup> Taylor's account squares perfectly with the navigation notes made by Eggleston and Thoreau some years earlier on the Red and Minnesota rivers, respectively.

region." Indeed in every way save in their attachment to the soil they resembled the Indians whose blood they shared. Despite the widening of the stream, the "Selkirk" still experienced difficulty in its progress toward Fort Garry, and Taylor again complained of the obstacles confronting navigation. "On approaching a rapid, it was next to impossible to keep her head to the one practicable channel: we grounded at the bow, grounded at the stern, ran against the banks, swung around, ran up stream, swung again, bumped over the rolling bowlders in the river-bed, and so worked our painful way along." Eventually, however, the party reached St. Boniface (like New France, Taylor thought), then Fort Garry and Winnipeg. At this Manitoban village of six hundred souls they were welcomed by the American consul, James W. "Saskatchewan" Taylor, and by a host of citizens eager to fete the visitors. But there was an unpleasant side to the arrival too, since the excitement of the Riel rebellion had only partly subsided, and the settlers tried in vain to mob the attorney general of the province, who had been a passenger on the "Selkirk." Taylor, unfamiliar with the grievances of the métis, expressed his bewilderment at the situation.<sup>17</sup>

During their brief stay, the Americans visited Adams G. Archibald, governor of Manitoba, and Bishop Alexandre Antonin Taché of St. Boniface; they also made a short exploratory trip up the Assiniboine River, a trip which convinced Taylor that the prairie provinces could grow wheat. Indeed he grew so eulogistic about the agricultural possibilities that he deprecated the climatic dangers. He admitted that in winter the extreme cold sometimes touched a temperature of forty degrees below zero, but he claimed that the air was pure and dry and that the snowfall rarely exceeded two feet. Autumn, furthermore, was a delightful season. Indeed, he opined,

<sup>17</sup> *New York Tribune*, August 17, 1871.



Minnesota, Dakota, and Manitoba only require a bridge here and there, and their natural grading does the rest. The rich soil everywhere will carry settlement along as fast as the roads can be built; and it is a very safe prediction to say that some of our party may yet ride in a Pullman car to Slave Lake.<sup>18</sup>

The railroads that Taylor envisaged have since spread their steel web well over the western prairies, and the grassland states have become as he partly foresaw the granary of the nation; but unfortunately even after the lapse of almost seventy years it is still impossible to travel in a Pullman to Slave Lake. And after the economic disappointment of The Pas-Churchill Railroad one must be bold indeed to presage any such rail connection in the immediate future. Yet in the main Taylor's enthusiasm has been vindicated; certainly he was too faithful a reporter to become merely the publicist for Jay Cooke and Company's bonds.

The return up the Red River was a mere repetition of the downward trip with few innovations to prevent boredom. The party detoured slightly so as to visit Oak Lake, Pelican Lake, and Fergus Falls (then a year old, with eighty houses, a newspaper, a sawmill, and a flour mill in prospect) before returning to Morris to board the train. Some of the travelers were enthusiastic about the lake scenery which they had diverged from their itinerary to see, but Taylor's comments are petulant and reveal weariness. In particular he protested against the use of classic names for frontier beauty spots. "A little pond near St. Paul is called 'Como,' from its total unlikeness, let us hope. So a cluster of shanties is called Constantinople, and a miserable station where the refreshments are a lingering death, Paris."<sup>19</sup>

Taylor was obviously glad to return to civilization. Great traveler that he was, the privations of the western frontier and the slow river boats vexed him considerably, and he was eager to be done with this whole western inter-

<sup>18</sup> *New York Tribune*, August 23, 1871.

<sup>19</sup> *New York Tribune*, August 30, 1871.

lude. On Thursday afternoon, August 10, 1871, the citizens of St. Paul gave a grand dinner for the visitors, among the guests being Henry H. Sibley and Governor Horace Austin. The "collation," said the *Pioneer* of August 11, included "peaches, pears, apples and grapes, in abundance." The speeches were as numerous as the fruits and were duly reported by the local newspapers, but Taylor was conspicuously absent. On the morning of August 11, almost before his fellow travelers had left the Twin Cities, he was in Chicago eager to return to Cedarcroft and his family.

Taylor's final Minnesota visit, on one of his last lecture tours, came in the fall of 1874. The preceding winter and spring he had spent in Europe, chiefly in Italy and Germany with a short excursion into Egypt. Then, on the request of Whitelaw Reid of the *Tribune*, he had gone to Iceland to write a series of letters dealing with the millennial celebration of the settling of the island. Early in September he was in America once more, his head buzzing with literary plans. But, as usual, he found it necessary to earn some ready cash before he could execute any of his projects. Once more then he turned to lecturing.<sup>20</sup> This tour began on October 20, 1874, and lasted with intermittent pauses until the middle of the following April. Taylor spoke in many of the middle-western cities and at least four times in Minnesota. His subject was invariably "Ancient Egypt."

The *Pioneer* enthusiastically announced the return of the "greatest traveler and lecturer of modern times" and declared that no person of intelligence would want to miss "his finished and instructive lecture." Taylor was to speak on Thanksgiving Day, and the *Pioneer* of that morning reminded its readers of the double treat in store for them: the turkey and the lecture. The *Press* took a similar attitude. "Everybody is acquainted with Bayard Taylor's writ-

<sup>20</sup> Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder, *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, 2: 652, 655-657 (Boston, 1885).

ings, but it is worth while to *see and hear talk* one who writes so much and so well." <sup>21</sup>

Taylor's talk was delivered in the Opera House. H. Knox Taylor, who introduced him, reminded the audience that the lecturer had been one of the earliest friends of the St. Paul Library Association and that he had been the organization's first speaker fifteen years before. Since his last appearance in St. Paul, the *Press* reported, Bayard Taylor had become more rotund and obviously grayer; but his enunciation was clear and distinct, and for an hour and a half he captivated his audience by his review of discoveries among the ruins of ancient Egypt. The *Dispatch* was much more explicit.

His forehead is high, his complexion florid, his nose aquiline. He wears a moustache, whiskers upon his chin and spectacles upon his nose. He talks he doesn't lecture. His manner is easy, graceful and refined. He speaks with an evident familiarity with his text and carries his hearers to the scene of his remarks in an irresistible manner, making in all one of the most charming and interesting lecturers before the public.

Taylor's lecture, according to the *Dispatch*, was entertaining and instructive. His thesis apparently was that ancient Egypt provided the genesis of religion, morals, and art, and in exposition of that thesis he touched on many facets of Egyptology: Champolion and the Rosetta stone, domestic life, mythology, literature, Moses, and the Hebrew captivity. "The speaker closed with a fine apostrophe to the spirit of progress and research which now animates the thinking world." <sup>22</sup>

The day following his St. Paul address, on November 27, Taylor repeated his lecture in Minneapolis, before eight hundred people at the Academy of Music. The *Tribune* praised the lecturer highly for his concise and orderly arrangement and for his interesting delivery. "Mr. Taylor is a very clear, impressive speaker, and passages of his lec-

<sup>21</sup> *Pioneer*, November 22, 26, 1874; *Press*, November 26, 1874.

<sup>22</sup> See the issues of the *Press*, the *Dispatch*, and the *Pioneer* for November 28, 1874.

ture were full of natural eloquence. His audience was delighted with the rich, scholarly treat he presented." Before leaving the state he delivered his talk on Egypt in two southern Minnesota towns, Mankato on November 28, and Faribault on November 30. According to the *Faribault Republican* of December 2, "He has the appearance of one who enjoys life, and could relish a hearty meal. He has a very pleasant and happy style of delivery, and held the attention of his audience very closely throughout." Taylor's address was so successful that the Reading Room Association, which sponsored his appearance, cleared nearly a hundred dollars.<sup>23</sup> In an interesting letter which he wrote to Martha Kimber from Mankato on November 29, Taylor pictured himself in southern Minnesota "on the borders of civilization, on a still, sunny day, and temperature at zero."

He told his correspondent that his audiences were larger than ever before and that his fees averaged a hundred and ten dollars an engagement. Nevertheless, he expressed his dissatisfaction with hot cars, cold rooms, bad dinners, committees, and autograph seekers, the bane of any lecturer's life.<sup>24</sup>

At the completion of the lecture tour of 1874-75 Taylor returned to the East to resume his literary work. His labor in translating *Faust* had stirred in him the desire to write biographies of Goethe and Schiller, and he was already collecting material. For a short time the gods smiled on him, and when he was appointed minister to Germany in February, 1878, he could hardly realize his good fortune. But he had spent his energy carelessly; as correspondent, lec-

<sup>23</sup> *Minneapolis Tribune*, November 28, 1874; *Mankato Weekly Record*, December 5, 1874; *Review* (Mankato), November 24, 1874; *Press*, December 5, 1874.

<sup>24</sup> John R. Schultz, ed., *Unpublished Letters of Bayard Taylor in the Huntington Library*, 183 (San Marino, 1937). In Mankato Taylor met the son of the poet Ferdinand Freiligrath, whom he had known years before in Germany. Writing to his wife, he remarked: "He is settled here as a fur-trader and seems to be doing well. He is quite handsome, remarkably like his father." Hansen-Taylor, *On Two Continents*, 256.

turer, and author he had been indefatigable; and when the crowning honor of his life came his health failed. During the summer and early fall of 1878 he was able to fulfill his duties, but disease slowly sapped his vitality, and on December 19 he died, crying out almost in his last breath, "I want, oh, you know what I mean, that *stuff of life!*"<sup>25</sup>

Little is left today of the fame that was once Bayard Taylor's. His numerous books have survived only in libraries, his poetry and his fiction have been forgotten, his name no longer connotes cosmopolitanism. For his great translation of *Faust* alone he is remembered, and carping critics have objected even here to his retention of the original meters in his version of Goethe's dramatic poem. In general Taylor's contemporaries thought well of him, but even in his own day voices were raised objecting to his superficiality. Surely the author of the obituary in the *Pioneer Press* of December 20, 1878, showed remarkable discernment and literary taste. Pointing out Taylor's versatility, he expressed his regret that the life of Goethe was never completed, for he professed to find little among Taylor's productions that bore the stamp of durability. Indeed, "Mr. Taylor's literary work has not been that of a creative character. His travels are newspaper letters, his novels commonplace and his poems ephemeral. His critical faculty was above his creative, and he was greater as an interpreter of thought than as a thinker."

What, then, gave Taylor his pre-eminent reputation as a lecturer? In the first place, he was a capable reporter; he saw things clearly and in their true perspective, and he sketched them vividly. Secondly, Taylor was a romanticist on a perpetual tour of the world; he had no ax to grind, he was not interested in politics, he sought chiefly the exotic and the novel. In the third place, he had a flair for descriptive language. He could picture clearly and freshly the

<sup>25</sup> Hansen-Taylor and Scudder, *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, 2: 765.

scenes he had viewed, and he could impart details of costume, accounts of strange foods or domestic habits, with little or no loss of verisimilitude. Finally, those of us who depend entirely on the motion picture for our knowledge of foreign lands and people can scarcely realize what a travel lecture meant to a community deprived of intimate contact with other nations. Taylor and his ilk brought the bizarre and the romantic close to home. His present obscurity is not to be deprecated. He fulfilled his function in his own time and his books have since lost their vitality. But life in the sixties and seventies would have been much more insular without the contact with foreign cultures which he provided.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

## SOURCES FOR NORTHWEST HISTORY

### SETH EASTMAN'S WATER COLORS

THAT AN ARMY OFFICER who has been characterized as "the master painter of the North American Indian" was stationed at Fort Snelling for some seven years in the 1830's and 1840's and served at four different times as its commandant is perhaps known to few present-day Minnesotans. They visit Washington, gaze upon the canvases of Seth Eastman in the Capitol and in the Corcoran Gallery, and fail to appreciate the fact that many of them are based upon sketches made in their home state in pre-territorial days. And doubtless, too, they fail to realize that to see original work by Eastman they need only visit the James Jerome Hill Reference Library in St. Paul, which has in its collections no less than sixty water colors by this distinguished artist of the western frontier.<sup>1</sup>

Eastman was twenty-one years of age when he was graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in July, 1829, attached to the First Infantry as a second lieutenant, and sent to Fort Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. There he began sketching the scenery and the natives, an avocation that he continued when he was transferred to Fort Snelling in the following year. He did not remain long at the Minnesota post, for in 1831 he was assigned to topographical duty. From 1833 to 1840 Eastman served as a teacher of drawing at West Point, and in

<sup>1</sup>Oil paintings of Minnesota scenes by Eastman are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society and by Dr. Harry Zimmerman of St. Paul. In the first, the artist depicts a wide valley, possibly that of the Minnesota River. An equestrian figure overlooks the scene from a bluff in the foreground. Dr. Zimmerman's picture is a view of Mendota as seen from the east side of the Mississippi, with several Indians on the bank above the river. It is signed "S. E.," followed by a date which, though partly obliterated, is probably 1848.

1840-41 he was stationed in Florida. With the rank of captain, he returned to Fort Snelling in 1841, and there, with the exception of a few months spent on recruiting service in 1846, he remained until the autumn of 1848. For brief periods in 1841, 1844, and 1846, and from March, 1847, to September, 1848, he was the commanding officer of the post at the mouth of the Minnesota.<sup>2</sup>

After leaving Fort Snelling, Eastman was stationed for a few months at Camp Houston, Texas. In 1849, however, he went to Washington, and in February, 1850, he was instructed to prepare the illustrations for Henry R. Schoolcraft's *History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851-57). For five years the artist worked on the scores of small water-color pictures which are reproduced as engravings and colored lithographs in the six volumes of this monumental work. The originals of fifty-one of these illustrations are preserved in the Hill Library. The collection, which consists of sixty-eight items averaging nine and a half by six and a half inches in size, includes also nine paintings by Eastman that do not appear in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, a color lithograph of C. B. King's portrait of Red Jacket, four pictures by Lieutenant J. C. Tidball, two probably by the same artist, and one by Captain A. A. Gibson.<sup>3</sup> James J. Hill purchased the water colors as a group, and they eventually came into the possession of the magnificent reference library established by the Empire Builder and endowed by his family.

It is appropriate that this unique collection should be preserved in Minnesota, for more than half the pictures included are of interest for that locality. At least twenty of the water colors reproduced in Schoolcraft's work depict

<sup>2</sup> David I. Bushnell, Jr., *Seth Eastman: The Master Painter of the North American Indian*, 1-7 (Washington, 1932); Richard W. Johnson, "Fort Snelling from Its Foundation to the Present Time," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 430.

<sup>3</sup> The Tidball and Gibson sketches were prepared for and reproduced in Schoolcraft's work.



scenes and natives of the Northwest. Among them are pictures of a "Dacotah Village" (obviously Kaposia), a "Dacotah Encampment," the "Dacotah Mode of Sitting," the "Beggar's Dance," "Spearing Fish," "Gathering Wild Rice," an "Indian Sugar Camp," "Mourning for the Dead," and "Itasca Lake, Source of the Mississippi." The latter, the artist indicates, is "from a sketch by H. R. Schoolcraft." This picture, which portrays the explorer landing after his discovery of the lake in 1832, is reproduced in color in volume 1 of his work and in black and white in volume 6. The color reproduction, a lithograph, fails to follow the original in many details; the engraving is far more satisfactory. Of Northwest interest also are maps showing the "Indian Tribes of the United States" in 1600 and the "Boundaries of the Ojibwa, Menomonee, Winnebago, and Dacotah Tribes" in 1851, a record of "Dacotah Written Music" copied from an original on birchbark, and nine sheets of "Manobosho's Devices"—pictographs from the Lake Superior country. Several New York and California views also are included in the collection. Of special interest is a view of "Chicago in 1820," based upon one of Schoolcraft's sketches.

Eight of the nine water colors that are not reproduced in Schoolcraft's work appear in another Lippincott publication—*The Iris*, one of the elaborately illustrated gift books that were popular in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Eastman's wife, Mrs. Mary H. Eastman, an author of considerable ability, recorded many of the Indian tales and legends that she heard on the upper Mississippi, and eighteen of her stories were printed in *The Iris* for 1852. They must have proved popular, for in 1853 the publishers issued the volume in a new edition, under the title *The Romance of Indian Life*, with Mrs. Eastman's name on the title page. Both editions are illustrated with highly colored chromoliths, eight of which are reproductions of originals in the Hill collection. Here are included

such interesting Minnesota scenes as a view of the Falls of St. Anthony with a canoe carrying a woman and child poised upon the brink of the waterfall, to illustrate the legend of the falls; a picture of Minnehaha Falls, "The Laughing Waters, Three miles below the Falls of St. Anthony"; and a view entitled "Wenona's Leap, Lake Pepin, Miss. River," illustrating the legend of Maiden Rock.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the reproductions are crudely executed, in garish tones, lacking completely the delicate beauty of the originals.

Only one picture in the collection, that of an "Indian Burial Ground," appears to be unpublished. This is a view of a Sioux cemetery with three burial scaffolds on a high bluff overlooking a river and a native village in the valley below. It may well represent the Sioux cemetery on the heights above Kaposia. The lithograph of King's portrait of Red Jacket appears to be an impression from the stone used in the first volume of McKenney and Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (Philadelphia, 1837). It is, nevertheless, an interesting Eastman item, for in the margin the artist has written: "This is not to be engraved, but is sent to assist the engraver in keeping the likeness." His own full-length portrait of the Seneca chief, which is executed in sepia, bears marginal instructions in the artist's autograph to "engrave the head and hands in line in place of stipple," with the added comment that "above all the likeness must be preserved."

According to a typewritten description, evidently prepared by an art or book dealer, which accompanies the Eastman collection in the Hill Library, "other drawings executed for Schoolcraft's book were destroyed" in a fire that wiped out the publishing house of J. B. Lippincott and Company, which issued the work. These pictures are said to have

<sup>4</sup>A somewhat different view of Maiden Rock, also by Eastman, appears in Mrs. Eastman's *Dahcotah: or, Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling*, 165 (New York, 1849). Several pictures that appear in Schoolcraft's work were reproduced also in Mrs. Eastman's *American Aboriginal Port Folio*, published by Lippincott in 1853.

been saved only because a member of the firm removed them from the plant before the fire. Nevertheless, a number of other water colors that Eastman prepared for this work have survived. The Minneapolis Public Library, for example, has the original of the view of the Falls of St. Anthony that is reproduced in the first volume of Schoolcraft's work.<sup>5</sup> And in the Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago, there are eleven original Eastman water colors, ten of which were engraved for the fourth volume of the same work. Of these, the most interesting for the student of Northwest history are a view of Michilimackinac as seen from the lake and three pictures of buffaloes on the western plains. The well-known view of Indians "Hunting Buffalo in Winter" is included.

Mr. David I. Bushnell, Jr., of the Smithsonian Institution points out that "Eastman's career as an artist may be divided into two distinct periods," and he asserts that the first, extending from the time the artist left West Point until he went to Washington to illustrate Schoolcraft's book, is the "more important." The two decades from 1829 to 1849 afforded Eastman opportunities to perfect his technique while teaching at the military academy, and to accumulate, while living on the frontiers of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Florida, and Texas, the sketches upon which the work of his mature years is based.<sup>6</sup> As a result of his early experience, the many canvases and water colors executed between 1850 and his death in 1875 are not only productions of artistic merit, but dependable records of the scenery and native life of the frontier West.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

<sup>5</sup> This picture was presented to the library in December, 1892, by Edward E. Ayer of Chicago, the well-known collector of Americana. The Lippincott plant was burned in 1899, according to information furnished by the company.

<sup>6</sup> Many of these sketches have been preserved and are now in the possession of Mr. Bushnell.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### MARKING MINNESOTA'S WESTERN BOUNDARY<sup>1</sup>

WHEN MINNESOTA TERRITORY was created in 1849, the northern, eastern, and southern boundaries had already been determined. According to the Organic Act of March 3, 1849, Minnesota Territory extended westward to the Missouri and White Earth rivers. The Minnesota Enabling Act of February 26, 1857, cut off a great deal of this western region and made the western boundary the Red and the Bois de Sioux rivers, Lakes Traverse and Big Stone, and a line from the outlet of the latter lake south to the northern boundary of Iowa. The line, eventually marked from Lake Traverse southward, was not immediately surveyed, but, as settlers poured into the western part of the state and surveys were extended into that region, the commissioner of the general land office recognized the need of establishing permanently the western boundary so that the lines of public surveys could be closed thereon. With his annual report to the secretary of the interior, on November 30, 1858, he submitted an estimate for the work.

On March 3, 1859, Congress appropriated five thousand dollars for the running and marking of that part of the

<sup>1</sup> This is a revised version of a report prepared on December 17, 1937, in answer to an inquiry from Mr. Charles A. Smith of Sioux Falls, South Dakota. As chairman of the landmarks committee of the Minnehaha County Historical Society, he asked for accurate information about the iron post at the southern terminus of Minnesota's western boundary. A bronze plaque, bearing an inscription based upon the information furnished, has since been placed on this post. Before an audience of about three thousand people, the marker was dedicated on October 9, 1938, with Judge Julius E. Haycraft of Fairmont, a member of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society, as the speaker. He took part also in a program that followed at Larchwood, Iowa, in which Mr. O. E. Klingaman of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa and Mr. Lawrence K. Fox of the South Dakota State Historical Society participated.

boundary not defined by natural landmarks. On April 30, 1859, a contract for the work was awarded to Chauncey H. Snow and Henry Hutton and they began their survey in July.

Manuscript copies of the instructions to Snow and Hutton and of their field notes of the survey are among the state archives in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society. Much can be learned from an examination of these papers. The "Special instructions to accompany the contract between Thomas A. Hendricks, Commissioner of the General Land Office, and Chauncey H. Snow and Henry Hutton, Surveyors, for running and marking that part of the Western boundary of the State of Minnesota which is not defined by the natural landmarks" are dated April 30, 1859. They are very specific, citing the laws of 1857 and 1859 by which the survey was authorized and the need for the establishment of the boundary, and describing in minute detail the monuments and markers that were to be set up. They state that "the beginning of that part of the boundary which is not defined by natural land marks is the Southern extremity of Lake Traverse." This starting point was to be ascertained with great precision and marked with an iron monument.

The field notes of Snow and Hutton cover the period from July 11 to August 4, 1859. They record the meandering of the southern part of Lake Traverse and the running of the line to the head of Big Stone Lake. The setting up of each of the wooden posts marking the hundred and twenty-four miles from the foot of Big Stone Lake to the Iowa boundary is chronicled, as well as details about the placing of the iron monuments at the southern point of Lake Traverse, the head and the outlet of Big Stone Lake, and the point of intersection with the northern boundary of Iowa. There are also comments on the surface of the country, the soil, and the trees.

The four permanent monuments are described as hollow

pyramids of cast iron, three-fourths of an inch thick, twelve inches square at the base tapering to seven inches at the top, and six feet long, and marked with raised capital letters on each of the four sides. They were placed three feet in the ground. The first three were marked "Minnesota" on the east side and "Dakota" on the west. "Initial point" was marked on the first post on the side facing Lake Traverse, while on the opposite side, facing Big Stone Lake, was inscribed "B. S. Lake, 1859."

The post at the intersection with the Iowa boundary has been of particular interest because it marks the southwest corner of the state, where Minnesota touches both Iowa and South Dakota. Misstatements about it, some of which are drawn from county histories, have been current for a long time. Until the manuscripts relating to the survey were discovered in the state archives, it was thought possible that surveyors running the northern boundary of Iowa in 1852 had set the post as a marker of that line. Proponents of this theory apparently disregarded the facts that the western terminus of the Iowa line was at the Big Sioux River and that Minnesota's boundary then extended west to the Missouri River. In their field notes, Snow and Hutton state explicitly that they placed the post at the termination of their survey when they reached the intersection with the northern boundary of Iowa. They report that it was marked as follows: on the north side "W. B. Minn.," on the south side "Iowa," and on the east and west sides, "43° 30' N.L." This monument is still in its original place. Recently, under the sponsorship of the Minnehaha County Historical Society of South Dakota, it was repaired and reset; and roads built by Rock County, Minnesota, Lyon County, Iowa, and Minnehaha County, South Dakota, now make it accessible to visitors.

LOIS M. FAWCETT

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Building Minnesota.* By THEODORE C. BLEGEN, professor of history in the University of Minnesota and superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society. (Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1938. xii, 450, xvi p. Illustrations. \$1.48.)

We have had some excellent histories of Minnesota for children, and few states as young as our own can boast of a more substantial record of its past for adults than that supplied to us by William W. Folwell. In the present work, however, we have a history of the state which everybody can read with profit. It is intended for the schools and is leveled at that uncertain age, the junior high school, where childhood and maturity blend themselves in such unpredictable confusion. But the junior high school student might well be warned at the outset that he is going to have difficulty keeping this book out of the hands not only of brother and sister, but also of papa and mamma.

And why not? The story of Minnesota is here unfolded in continuous development from its earliest known beginnings right up to the present. It reaches from the archaeological Minnesota maiden of Pelican Rapids to Elmer Benson and "Bernie" Bierman. It traces the widening and deepening of human activity in this region from the days when its forests, waters, and prairies served only a sparse nomadic or seminomadic population of Indians to the present when this same region is providing over two and a half million people with a relatively comfortable and happy life. Agriculture and industry, commerce and politics, religion and education, literature and learning, music and art and recreation are here supplied with their Minnesota names and dates and places. The reviewer knows of no comparable work which deals with so wide a range of social activity in such concrete terms and within such limited space.

The book is overpowering in its interest. Expecting to read a chapter at a time over a period of some weeks, the reviewer found himself well beyond page 150 when he laid it down for the first time and all the way through the 450 pages when he put it away the third time. It is told in simple language, as simple as the increasing com-

plexity of the state's activities permits. Portions of it will enthrall children of the primary grades and yet not hide their sober significance for the growth of our society from the most mature adult. There is drama, of course, all the way from the uncompromising struggles of the Sioux and the Chippewa, through the period of exploration by French and British, the contest of British and Americans, the fur trade and pioneer settlement, the penetration of the wilderness by canoe and steamboat, by cart and highway, by railroad and airplane. The development of the state's resources, its furs and its forests, its fields and its mines, and after them the less material, though no less important, resources of social life and the products of mind and spirit—all this is recounted vividly with that judicious mixture of concrete detail and social significance which commands the attention of young and old alike.

No one volume that the reviewer knows presents within such brief compass as nearly a complete picture of the intricate pattern of social elements which make up a large modern society as this. It would be futile to enumerate merely the names of the leaders in the many activities which are discussed in this work. All the great leaders commonly mentioned are there, but also many others whose services have not been so commonly known. Leaders in politics, in commerce, in industry and agriculture, in religion, in education, in social welfare, in music, art, and science are not merely mentioned. The part which groups, national, religious, social, economic, and political, have played in the growth of the state is recognized to an extent hitherto unequalled. Few adults, however familiar with the history of the state, will fail to find in this book some important incidents, characters, or activities which they did not previously know.

This story of Minnesota is told with rare skill. Its wealth of information is made more easily available by the intermingling of vivid detail, abundant, clearly printed pictures, helpful maps well placed, occasional bits of poetry and song. There is pathos naturally, but there is also humor. The heroes, and their number is much greater than is found in other single volumes, are not all of the battle-fields. They are found in this book, as they are in life, also in the pulpit, in the forum, the factory, and the field. There is no glossing over of the fact that our society had its misfortunes as well as its successes. It recognizes the fact that there were important failures not only of enterprise but also of character, that instances of unfairness



and even rascalities occurred. The process of adjusting life from the simple, almost self-contained, economy of the pioneer farm to the highly intricate interdependence of a society of several millions is revealed with its recurring strains and tensions, and its misunderstandings with charges of bad faith that were often unfounded. All this is recounted in its proper perspective as part of the story of our state. It is written as history should be written, without malice, with fairness and sympathetic insight into the human story which is our history.

In addition to the qualities of style and illustrative materials already mentioned, the book has been further enriched for school use by carefully devised pedagogical aids. The author, whose own teaching experience is abundantly evident, has been aided by Professor Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota. As a result each division or "unit" is provided with bibliographical suggestions for pupils, questions for study, and problems and projects which both teachers and pupils will find stimulating.

It would be a mistake, however, to confine the use of this book to a single grade or even a small group of grades. It has material of value for every grade. There are stories, incidents, and characters which the teacher can use with primary pupils. There are other materials which will be new and suggestive even to college students. The book should therefore be put to use in all grades.

One of its uses will be appreciated most by teachers of the upper high school grades. In bringing the story of Minnesota up to the present the author has of necessity nominated many new characters, episodes, and incidents for the Minnesota hall of fame. Some of these are as yet but little known or known only to a few. There is a possibility that many others should also be included. It will be a challenge to every community in Minnesota to canvass its own history for the discovery of others equally important. This can be done by high school students under the guidance of their teachers. The author will, I am certain, welcome any of the discoveries so made.

The chief criticism which the reviewer has to offer is that the author should give us another book incorporating nearly all that he has included, but written for the general reader. By omitting the purely didactic elements, the author could interweave the recent material more fully into the unified story of the state. He could trace the process whereby the burdens of life in the pioneering days, which are

so well described, came to be shared between farm and city to the increasing happiness of all. The process has all the drama of frequent misunderstanding, even to the point of conflict at times. Most of this the author has already indicated. In a book for the general reader he could complete this task and thus give us one of the clearest pictures to be found anywhere of how we became the closely interdependent society that we now are. This book has shown us that the author can do it, and then this book will more nearly seem, as it already actually is, a history of Minnesota for everybody.

A. C. KREY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*Check List of Minnesota Imprints, 1849-1865 (American Imprints Inventory, no. 2).* By MAMIE R. MARTIN, associate librarian, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minn. (Chicago, Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Works Progress Administration, 1938. ix, 219 p. Mimeographed.)

WPA. What magic in those symbols! The golden age of Augustus. The Renaissance under the Medici. Dancing, music, painting, murals, poetry, the drama, creative writing, the arts and sciences. We may have a burst of the Renaissance in America rivaling that of Italy in the Middle Ages—if only the government can continue to borrow the money. But we are wandering. Here at least is one project that seems to historically-minded folk worth while. It is a check list arranged chronologically by years of all material printed and published in Minnesota from the earliest publication in 1849 down to and including the year 1865. It does not purport to include newspapers, however, a list of which is to be issued by the Minnesota Historical Society, nor periodicals, nor legislative bills. It does include governors' messages, addresses, reports, business prospectuses, sermons, pamphlets, political broadsides, and miscellaneous material of all kinds, bound and unbound; although naturally bound books are comparatively few. There is added also a list of territorial documents compiled by Miss Esther Jerabek of the Minnesota Historical Society staff. The book consists of something over two hundred mimeographed pages and is well indexed. The material, it seems,

was prepared by Miss Martin several years ago as part of a master's thesis in the school of library service at Columbia University, and she has generously consented to its publication in its present form. It has had the benefit of the general supervision of Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie, the well-known authority on early printing, who contributes a preface. Appreciation of the co-operation of Miss Gertrude Krausnick and others of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society in checking the lists is expressed in the preface.

It is surprising to learn how much general printing was carried on in Minnesota's early days. There are 640 items listed, ranging from fourteen in 1849 to forty-nine in 1865, with a high of sixty-nine in 1860. It is hardly to be expected that there should not be some omissions, indeed several have already been discovered. Miss Martin's extensive search has led her to locate Minnesota imprints of this period in thirty-three libraries of the country, among them all the better-known collections. It will be gratifying to members of the Minnesota Historical Society to know that of the 640 items listed in this inventory, less than twenty-five are missing on the shelves of the society, and those relatively unimportant.

The first newspaper in Minnesota was Goodhue's *Minnesota Pioneer*. Volume 1, number 1, which appeared in St. Paul on April 28, 1849, was printed upon a press that the editor brought with him up the river ten days previously. This issue was of course the first piece of printing in Minnesota. The place of honor, however, as the first Minnesota imprint other than newspapers, should be given probably to a broadside, Governor Ramsey's proclamation of July 10, 1849, calling for the election of a delegate to Congress from the new territory and of members to the new territorial legislature. This was followed in succeeding weeks by the governor's *Message* to the first legislative assembly, *Rules for the Government of the Council of Minnesota Territory*, and various other minor imprints including *By-laws of St. Paul Lodge, No. 1 of Free and Accepted Masons* and a *Hymn* printed in English and Chippewa at Leech Lake on a press newly acquired by the missionaries at that post. The first imprint in St. Anthony, now part of Minneapolis, was apparently Governor Ramsey's *Message* of 1852. It was published by the *St. Anthony Express*, the community's earliest newspaper, the first issue of which appeared on May 31, 1851. It is interesting to note that the governor's message of 1849 was published in French as well as in Eng-

lish. The practice of issuing the message in a foreign tongue was not followed again until 1860, when it was published not in French this time, but in Swedish and German. Among a number of "firsts" is the *First Annual Catalogue* of the preparatory department of Hamline University at Red Wing, issued in August, 1855; and the *Report* of the board of regents of the University of Minnesota to the legislature of 1860. Another "first" was the call for a Republican convention, issued on June 1, 1856. The first St. Paul *Directory* appeared in 1856 and the first St. Anthony and Minneapolis *Directory* in 1859. Volume 1 of the decisions of the supreme court was published in 1858 and volume 1 of the *Annals* of the Minnesota Historical Society appeared in 1850, showing the beginnings of this society almost before Minnesota had any recorded history at all. An echo of the past also is the *Sonnets of Shakespeare*, an essay published in 1859, privately, by "Ignatius Donnelly, A.M." Dull business at Nininger at this time probably gave him ample leisure to write. We have not read the book and do not know whether or not Bacon wrote the sonnets as well as the plays.

There is not space here to go further into detail in the printed pages of those early interesting years of the state's history. "Of the making of books there is no end." Suffice it to say that this book about books is a very valuable guide to the location of printed source materials not only for the collector of Minnesota-ana and the special research individual, but also for the general student of Minnesota history.

EDWARD C. GALE

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

*The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner.* With a list of all his works compiled by EVERETT E. EDWARDS, and an introduction by FULMER MOOD. (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1938. xi, 316 p. Portrait. \$3.50.)

The early writings of Turner which are included in this volume are his essay on "The Significance of History" (1891) and that on "Problems of American History" (1892), his doctoral thesis on "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin" (1891), and the first version of "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," being that published in the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1893 (1894). The last

of these items is accompanied by an appendix containing variant readings from the version issued in the same year by the American Historical Association in its *Annual Report* for 1893, from that included in the National Herbart Society's *Fifth Yearbook* in 1899, and from that which forms the first chapter of the volume entitled *The Frontier in American History* published in 1920. The parallel passages on pages 189-192 and 280-282 may be commended to the attention of the reader as a beautiful example of the transformation of a mere series into a process, of the discovery of the formula which will colligate the facts satisfactorily and fit them into a reasoned theory. "If we pay heed only to external relations," it has recently been said, "we treat events as we treat material things like counters or pieces of wood. They lose their internal validity."<sup>1</sup> The two passages reveal the transition from such a perception of external relations to an interest in what men have done as thinking beings. Between the one and the other, Turner has become master of the idea of which these items are the external evidence, and the passage, from being an accumulation of notes, has become history. Upon the same level as this careful treatment of the text are Mr. Fulmer Mood's biographical note and the very full and accurate bibliography of Turner's writings. To the latter is added a list of references on the life and work of Turner. The format of the book is worthy of its contents, although the very pleasant binding may prove not to be very serviceable.

The most notable contribution made by the volume is the republication of the essay on "Problems of American History" from *Ægis*, a Wisconsin undergraduate publication, where it has been beyond the reach of most readers. The essay is a striking advance upon that on "The Significance of History," and in it are the germs of the essay upon the "Frontier," which followed it a few months later, and some of its most striking phrases (compare, for example, pages 72 and 187, 73 and 186, 83 and 229). The two papers together make it abundantly clear that Turner drew his strength from the two sources which have been of prime importance in modern American historiography, Germany and the Middle West. The channels of German influence were his Wisconsin professor, W. F. Allen, trained in Germany in the middle fifties, and H. B. Adams' seminar at Johns Hopkins; and however discontented Turner may have been with the

<sup>1</sup> F. M. Powicke, *History, Freedom and Religion* (Riddell Memorial Lectures, tenth series, 1938).

restricted view of the proper field of historical study which prevailed at Johns Hopkins, it is clear that it is to the traditions of the German seminar that he owed, in a very large measure, not only a technical competence in the use of his tools in whatever field he might choose to labor, but also his philosophical habit of thought. The contribution of the Middle West was an open mind, a fresh outlook, and the rich collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Of the frontier thesis, now that almost half a century has passed since it was formulated, it must suffice to note that the acceptance of its major premise that the true point of view was not the Atlantic coast but the West, has wrought a revolution in the interpretation of American history which has been the outstanding achievement of recent American historiography; but that, of the two principal subordinate theses, the one has been incompletely investigated, and the other perhaps overdriven. That the Atlantic coast and the Old World itself were profoundly affected by what occurred in the West is a generalization which wins very ready acceptance but, in respect to the Old World at least, still awaits detailed examination. That in the continual contact on the frontier with the simplicities of primitive society and in the pressure of environment, the freedom from European influence, and the mingling of populations are to be sought the origins of those traits and institutions which are peculiarly American, is a generalization which doubtless needs some revision. Intellectual progress did not cease in the East; the traffic in ideas was not all one way; and men perhaps brought with them to the West more deeply ingrained habits of thought and behavior than Turner was inclined to allow. On the other hand, while the vigorous virtues of the frontier are not to be denied, they are not the whole of the story. No traveler in the Mississippi Valley and the Far West can fail to be impressed by the colossal labor which has gone to the building of a civilization in the wilderness. But neither can he fail to observe the frenzied robbery of the great storehouse of nature. It is perhaps time that that aspect of the story was looked at more closely. Turner only glanced at it. Possibly the Middle Border, and the Southwest, and the mountain states will afford a point of view a little different from that of the old Northwest.

H. HALE BELLOT

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON  
LONDON, ENGLAND

*The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography.* By his former students at the University of Chicago. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON. (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1937. x, 417 p. Portrait. \$4.00.)

In this volume of twenty-one chapters, each bearing the name of a historian for its title, the authors have achieved objectivity, brevity, and literary quality, sometimes bordering on excellence. It is not for this reviewer to pick a quarrel with the editor for his choice of subjects; he accepts the volume as it is and judges it accordingly. Most of the essayists are relatively young men who have yet to achieve distinction. Obviously much of what they have written about eminent historians is based on what others have said about them in reviews, in correspondence, and through less formal channels. The essays conform to much the same patterns, with slight variation. There is something about the historian's ancestry, which precedes a thumbnail sketch of his career, academic or otherwise. The reasons that dictated his choice of subjects and the influences that molded or shaped his approach or philosophy are followed by a discussion of his methods, his workmanship, his merits and demerits, and his *tendenz*. Every page is supported by generous citations to authorities or sources of information.

Some of the essays, like Commager's on Henry Adams, challenge unusual attention because of exceptionally skillful execution; others, like Craven's on Frederick Jackson Turner, because of intimate touches and effective, if kindly, treatment of critics who understood neither the personality nor the interpretation of the man "who wrote less and influenced his generation more than any other important historian." Fahrney's appraisal of Channing, in spite of judicious and penetrating observations, leaves the impression that the author falls short of understanding the historian who was incapable of understanding Turner, who for a time was his colleague. In the case of Sears, who has written one of the best chapters, the attempt to find the "explanation for the heart and kernel" of Woodrow Wilson's political philosophy and "his firm adherence to the right of self-determination," brings him back to Wilson's youth in postwar Georgia, "where the devastation of the Civil War led him to an obvious conclusion." The lesson that was echoed at Versailles, according to Sears, was that if the South had enjoyed the self-determination it so

ardently desired, the waste and horror of war need never have occurred.

A characteristic common to authors who have occasion to refer to slavery is the disposition to criticise Hildreth, von Holst, Rhodes, and Roosevelt for their anti-southern bias, which means that they condemned the institution of slavery. One is tempted to conclude from these and other writers that an objective historian is one who is "amoral" and chary of praising Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, the Grimké sisters, and even Lincoln because they believed slavery to be wrong. Perhaps the historian who writes in the twenty-first century, in order to prove his objectivity, will refrain from passing judgment on a system of which Jay Gould, Daniel Drew, John D. Rockefeller, and George M. Pullman were instruments because there were thousands of their contemporaries who treated their employees with benevolence and kindness.

However, it is just as easy for a reviewer to be unjustly critical of men who executed a difficult assignment as it was for them to fall from grace a time or two. The workmanship of editor, authors, and publisher is refreshing. Only the index is below par.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*American Sketchbook.* Collected by TREMAINE McDOWELL, WINFIELD H. ROGERS, JOHN T. FLANAGAN, HAROLD A. BLAINE. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938. xvi, 706 p. Illustrations. \$2.00.)

One of the curiosities of higher education in America is its indifference to matters American. It is hardly expected of the graduate of our universities that he know the land he lives in or the ideas that formed it. Any textbook, therefore, which presents American life to the freshman student is to be received with thanks, but one so fresh, so vivid, so varied as *American Sketchbook* is doubly welcome.

The title aptly describes this extensive collection of sketches in prose and verse, in story and essay, in fact and fiction. More than a hundred and fifty profiles, portraits, incidents, and episodes accumulate for the reader the characters and scenes which he needs to build an adequate impression of life in New England, the mid-Atlantic states, the South, the Middle West, and the Far West. A hundred



nineteenth- and twentieth-century American writers are drawn upon for these illuminations of our nation.

For readers in the Mississippi Valley the most interesting parts of this volume will be the fourth and fifth sections and possibly these will also prove the most valuable in presenting to the college student an unfamiliar but important two-thirds of his country. Here are the Indian, the squatter, the homesteader, Paul Bunyan, Abraham Lincoln, Colonel Sellers, threshing, meat packing, lumbering, cowboys, gold seekers, fur traders, the Great Plains, the great river, the mountains, the village school, the city newspaper, and the pony express. Rölvaag, Irving, Dobie, Parkman, Cooper, Artemus Ward, Edward Eggleston, William Joseph Snelling, Dreiser, Owen Wister, Neihardt, E. W. Howe, John Hay are but a few on the roll of artists whose sketches make the great West alive before us.

*American Sketchbook*, then, will inform the student of the life and character of his people. It will not, however, make clear to him the current of American ideas nor the quality of American thought. The essay or two which close each geographical division of the book are not sufficient to synthesize the materials of the section. The editors apparently have recognized this weakness, for they round out their volume with a group of "American Attitudes." These are disappointingly brief. It is only in the last seven essays that the student is provided with the kind of stimulation he needs if he is to think.

Nevertheless, *American Sketchbook* is an excellent piece of work. It is thorough and widely representative; it is forceful and clear. In the best sense it is American and it will ably introduce many a college student to men and matters he ought to be acquainted with but isn't.

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY  
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

*Teaching the Social Studies: Theory and Practice.* By EDGAR BRUCE WESLEY, head of social studies, University High School, associate professor of education, University of Minnesota. (New York, D. C. Heath and Company, 1937. xvii, 635 p. \$2.80.)

*A Regional Program for the Social Studies.* By A. C. KREY. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938. xiii, 140 p. \$1.25.)

Probably three of the most essential ideas that have permeated education and have led to improved teaching in social studies are that

meanings depend on experiences; that the ideas conveyed by words differ according to the experiences of the reader or listener who brings his own meanings to words; and that only so far as the child identifies himself with the problem does it vitally affect his attitude and understanding.

That peer of teachers, Henry Johnson, formerly of Columbia University, opened a recent discussion of principles for curriculum building with, "Relate the instruction to the child's experience; and if he has not had the essential experience, provide him with material which recounts such experience." His valuable advice is ably championed by Dr. Krey, the leader in social studies teaching who acted as chairman of the commission on the social studies. In his carefully written *Regional Program in Social Studies*, weighty in value far beyond its unpretentious appearance, he states, "Social concepts can have little or no meaning to pupils until they have experienced the situation from which the words have been derived or to which they may be applied" (p. 37). He finds that "The value in transmitting information is, therefore, directly dependent on the extent to which speaker and listener have had the same or similar experiences and understand in common the terms used in referring to those experiences" (p. 35). Where would the child secure these experiences? How would reality be created?

Dr. Krey proposes that the community with its resources for experiences be used as the initial approach or the "springboard" from which the child reaches out from reality into more reality. For in present society, "The community is discovered to be not an entity in itself, but one in which every important activity is subject to influences from every part of the world and from the full sweep of time. The community is the point of contact between the individual and this whole social web" (p. 33).

Dr. Wesley confirms this view too in his *Teaching the Social Studies*. "The pupil who fails to identify the local counterpart of what he studies in a book is failing to utilize the most promising material," he writes (p. 442). "The local community furnishes instances of every fundamental process. The problem for the teacher and the pupil is to identify and understand the local manifestations of these processes. Since the local community furnishes these fundamental instances, it behooves the school to discover and utilize them." Dr. Wesley presents several examples of community survey plans that

should be suggestive of the first steps in discovering the possible contacts. Dr. Krey would have such surveys put more emphasis on the "wider relationships" of this community to the past and to all parts of the world. In his opinion, "The community should therefore *always* be studied, not merely at one time" (p. 35).

But further than this, the two writers realize the need of the child to identify himself with these problems, to feel a concern that comes from sensing the relationship of himself and his community to the whole social web. "In Minnesota, the chief local activities—industries related to dairying and grain products—may be linked to a wider knowledge by outlining their development and organization in other civilizations and at successive periods in the history of this state," according to Dr. Krey (p. 76).

Teachers who would attempt to utilize the valuable guidance of these two excellent books will find in them a challenge to be well informed in the richness of local and state development and its relation to national and world development, in order to see possibilities of richer building, of richer contacts, of more realism in the guiding of pupil experiences. How essential this will be for teachers is obvious under the new regional planning which proposes to leave the adaptation in curriculum building to the teachers. In Dr. Krey's words, "The social studies acquire life and meaning and yield real value to the pupil only insofar as the teacher consistently endeavors to weave together the *here* and *now* with the *there* and *then* and to show the connection existing between the remote in space and time and the immediate both in the community and the pupil's own life" (p. 56).

ELLA HAWKINSON

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE  
MOORHEAD, MINNESOTA

*There Were Four of Us, or, Was It Five.* By THOMAS D. O'BRIEN. ([St. Paul, 1938.] 105 p. Illustration. \$1.00.)

We turn the last of these few pages wistfully; Judge O'Brien could have told us so much more that we should like to know. He was one of a family whose collective experience witnessed the full span of Minnesota's development from youth to maturity and touched upon the process at several points. Dillon O'Brien, the father, came to America from County Galway among the Irish immigrants of the middle years of the nineteenth century. A succession of steps west-

ward brought him to Minnesota by the early sixties, and here he wrote and lectured and organized as an active crusader for temperance and for Irish colonization. He was right-hand man to Archbishop Ireland in both of those causes. His four sons became prominent men of affairs in St. Paul, the three oldest, John, Christopher, and Thomas, as lawyers, and the youngest, Harry, as a distinguished surgeon and a teacher in the university school of medicine. Christopher and Thomas were also politically minded. The former served Ramsey County as attorney for four years and St. Paul as mayor for two. The latter, Judge O'Brien, as a leader in the Democratic party at a time when that party managed to interrupt the Republican control of the executive office, came into close contact with some of the men and matters that have reached the pages of Minnesota history. He walked and talked with men like John Lind and John A. Johnson, and often advised with them on matters of policy. He directed the defense of the state officials through the long maze of the celebrated Minnesota rate cases; he served on the national Democratic committee; he held public office as city attorney, county attorney, state insurance commissioner, and justice of the state supreme court. His memories should have been a mine for historians. Yet little of substance from this experience appears in these pages; the men, yes, a procession of them in amusing incident and personal foible—the social and political stage on which they moved and the larger roles they played, no.

But it would not be fair to judge this book by what we wish it were. Judge O'Brien never intended it to be the "record of the life of a family, a city, and a state" that the "Foreword" grandiloquently calls it; he more modestly and more accurately described it as a "record of the activities, interests, and friendships in my life." And as such it is full of humor and of charm. There are pleasant pictures of boyhood days on a Meeker County farm, and of long vacation hours passed in hunting and fishing, when the river setting or the sight of bronze and white sandhill cranes in stately dance on the prairie made the bagging of game almost immaterial to the success of the excursion. There are glimpses of a bygone St. Paul: the gambling saloons of the late frontier days, when keepers of such resorts were fined regularly once a month, in lieu of a license system; the early regattas, picnic trips, and formal balls of the Minnesota Boat Club; the amateur performances by the St. Paul Dramatic Club "in the old Atheneum on Exchange Street"; the drills, parades, and com-

munity gatherings in old Bridge Square; the first ice palaces and carnivals, to which certain influential citizens objected because they "felt that an ice carnival unduly emphasized our winter climate." There are stories too, like that of the Democratic state convention at Duluth in 1904, when radical and conservative factions battled for control so tumultuously that men shouted themselves permanently hoarse and a former governor's secretary engaged in fisticuffs with the police who had been called to quell the disturbance.

But most frequent of all are the candid camera shots of a host of the lawyers, jurists, and politicians whom Judge O'Brien knew: Judge Brill turning evidence into decisions like a sausage machine; Pierce Butler presenting his first case in court; Ignatius Donnelly, when O'Brien tried to make peace among the Populists to strengthen their support of Bryan, banging his fist on the desk and shouting "If Owen doesn't move to expel me, I'll move to expel him"; Cushman K. Davis as a trial lawyer, impatient and sarcastic and given to classical allusions in addressing the jury; John Lind cuffing the ears of a St. Paul editor who persistently maligned him; and many, many others. It is clear that when Judge O'Brien composed and dictated these memoirs during the last two months of his life, the things remembered were happy times and friendly associations — and the good stories that always brought a chuckle.

Unfortunately the format of the volume adds nothing to the reader's pleasure. The bookmaker seems to have had no further concern than to get the words onto pages and the pages between covers. Some of the typographical errors, at least, are inexcusable.

HELEN B. CLAPESATTLE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

"History of the Minnesota Supreme Court." By RUSSELL O. GUNDERSON, clerk of supreme court. (Hectographed. 23 sections.)

There is a great field to be exploited in the history of the American judiciary and American court practices. In this study, a step has been taken in the exploitation of the Minnesota phase of that subject. Interspersed between amusing anecdotes, Mr. Gunderson has presented a mass of solid information about the history of Minnesota's highest court, the arbiters in that court, and the people whose

interests have been the subject of court action. The story begins with the earliest attempts to administer justice in Minnesota and is carried to the end of 1936.

The reader probably will gather several broad impressions from this study. One of them will be that of the high caliber of the men who have represented Minnesota on the supreme court bench; another will be that of the heavy burden of labor that has fallen on the shoulders of the justices; and a third, that of the wide variety in the subject matter of the cases which have been brought to the court's attention. The first case on record to be heard by the Minnesota supreme court, for example, was one involving a stray cow and the right of its finder to receive compensation for its upkeep until the owner claimed it. The range of subjects includes the case of Mrs. Bilanski, the first woman hanged in Minnesota, cases arising from the ill-fated gold rush to the Vermilion Lake region in the sixties, and, in our own times, one testing the validity of a mortgage moratorium law. From the organization of the court in 1849 to January 1, 1937, an astounding total of more than thirty-one thousand opinions has been handed down.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

*Moccasins in the Wilderness.* By ELIZABETH HAWTHORN BUCK.  
(Philadelphia, The Penn Publishing Company, 1938. 238 p.  
Illustrations. \$1.50.)

The plot of this novel for young people is laid on the frontier during the American Revolution. Though the scene is mostly western Pennsylvania and the upper Ohio Valley, the book has a slight Minnesota interest because of one character, Brown Bird, a captive Chippewa lad among the Wyandots, who at the end decides to return to his own people near Grand Portage. There is a hint by the author, the wife of the former superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, that Brown Bird will shortly be encountered in a sequel to this book. Since Dr. and Mrs. Buck have spent portions of many summers at Grand Portage and know its history thoroughly, it is pleasant news to find that the well-drawn characters of *Moccasins in the Wilderness* may soon reappear in a Minnesota setting.

The chief white characters of the story are, appropriately for a

Pennsylvania frontier, a Scotch-Irish family. With the departure of the father for military duty in the war and the capture of the mother and the youngest child by the Wyandots, the stage is cleared early in the book for the main action to be performed by a girl in her teens and her younger brother. Through their eyes a youthful reader can see a log home on the frontier, become acquainted with household duties and customs, watch Indian raids and warfare, and even get a glimpse of wilderness ways. A Canadian voyageur, who befriends the children, is not quite so convincing, especially in his language and customs, as the rather stiff Scotch-Irish with their tart ways and speech.

G. L. N.

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

MR. LEROY G. DAVIS ("Frontier Home Remedies and Sanitation") is well known to the readers of this magazine as the author of descriptions of pioneer conditions based largely upon his own experience and memory. His home is at Sleepy Eye, Minnesota. Miss Gertrude W. Ackermann ("George Northrup, Frontier Scout") is the assistant curator of manuscripts on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. Her article is one of several frontier studies that she has made. In the September, 1931, issue of this magazine she published an interesting essay on "Joseph Renville of Lac qui Parle." Dr. Grace Lee Nute ("Father Hennepin's Later Years"), curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society, found and used most of the materials upon which this article is based while in Paris and London last summer. She is the author of the historical introduction to the newly published translation of Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* issued by the University of Minnesota Press. Dr. John T. Flanagan ("Bayard Taylor's Minnesota Visits"), assistant professor of English in the University of Minnesota, is one of the four scholars responsible for the *American Sketchbook*, reviewed *ante*, p. 436. Miss Bertha L. Heilbron ("Seth Eastman's Water Colors") is the assistant editor of this magazine. She has interested herself in artists who have recorded Minnesota scenes. Among her publications is the volume entitled *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851*, in which the diary and sketches of Frank B. Mayer are presented. Miss Lois M. Fawcett ("Minnesota's Western Boundary") is the reference librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society. She contributed an article on "Some Early Minnesota Bells" to the December, 1937, issue of this magazine. The reviewers include Professor August C. Krey of the University of Minnesota, a national leader in the field of the teaching of the social studies; Mr. Edward C. Gale, president of the Minnesota Historical Society; Mr. H. Hale Bellot, professor of American history in the University of London; Dr. George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, the author of a new history of the United States since the Civil War; Dr. John



Francis McDermott of the department of English in Washington University, St. Louis; Miss Helen B. Clapesattle, assistant editor on the staff of the University of Minnesota Press; Miss Ella Hawkinson, principal and supervisor of the college high school at the Moorhead State Teachers College; and Dr. Arthur J. Larsen, head of the society's newspaper department.

The ninetieth annual meeting of the society will be held in St. Paul on Monday, January 16, with a local history conference in the morning, a luncheon program, an afternoon session, and the annual address in the evening. An interesting program is being planned and it is hoped that there will be a large attendance.

The curator of manuscripts was in Europe from May to August, searching for Minnesota materials in archives and special collections in several countries. In Sweden she collected information on the backgrounds of the Lindbergh family; in Edinburgh she examined, in the papers of Lord Strathcona, several volumes of Northwest Company records and made arrangements for photographing the material relating to early Minnesota; and in London she found and copied a number of valuable items in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. On her way home she stopped at West Point to photograph in colors eighteen original water colors, chiefly of Minnesota scenes, by the pioneer artist Peter Rindisbacher.

Mr. LeRoy G. Davis' article on "Some Frontier Words and Phrases," which appeared in the September issue of this magazine, has been the subject of some interesting comment on the part of its readers. Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg remarks in a letter to the editors that the "article is unique and gave me a great deal of pleasure. My ancestry was New England and Wisconsin frontier," she continues, "and most of the expressions were perfectly familiar to me." Upon checking them over, Miss Kellogg found that she knew "at least five-sixths of the expressions." An even larger proportion were familiar to Mr. Fred Landon, librarian of the University of Western Ontario at London, Canada. "I have read with great interest your article in MINNESOTA HISTORY on frontier words and phrases because ninety per cent. of them I have heard in this western part of Ontario," he writes in a communication to the author. "There has always been a large American element in this section and I suppose that these

words and phrases came into use here just as they were carried to Minnesota," he comments. "My own parents and relatives used just such words and phrases in ordinary conversation in the 1880's and 1890's and there are plenty of them still in use here. The other evening some friends were in who had been raised in this province and I read the article to them. They recognized the large majority at once." Mr. Landon recalls that he "had an old uncle who when he wished to emphasize a statement would say 'By General Jackson,'" and he remarks that "No doubt that would be heard in Minnesota also."

Miss Lois M. Fawcett, the society's reference librarian, contributes an account of "Lay Leaders in Minnesota Education" to the September issue of the *Minnesota Journal of Education*. The contributions of Martin McLeod, Edward D. Neill, Alexander Ramsey, John W. North, Henry H. Sibley, John S. Pillsbury, and John D. Ford are among those mentioned. A portrait of McLeod appears with the article.

The superintendent's address on "The Community and the Pioneer Tradition," presented at International Falls on June 9 before the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, appears in the August issue of the league's monthly magazine, *Minnesota Municipalities*. Dr. Blegen contributed an article on "Minnesota and the Northwest" to a special edition of the *Minnesota Legionnaire*, issued on August 10 in connection with Minnesota's participation in the Northwest Territory celebration.

A total of 421 readers used the resources of the society's manuscript division during the quarter ending on October 1. Included were Mrs. Bess Wilson of the *Minneapolis Journal*, Mr. Everett M. Dick of Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska, Miss Helen W. Wheeler of the United States department of agriculture, and Miss Ingrid Gaustad of Oslo, Norway.

During the months of July, August, and September, seventy-three more readers used the society's newspaper collections than were recorded for the entire year 1928. The total number of readers for the summer quarter of the present year is 964, a figure that surpasses that of the same period in 1937 by 162.

One sustaining member, Mrs. Nora S. Smith of Minneapolis, and the following nine annual members joined the society between July 1 and September 30: LeRoy V. Alwin of Mound, Duncan H. Baird of St. Paul, Mrs. Clara S. Broms of St. Paul, Dr. Lawrence H. Cady of Minneapolis, C. A. Fosness of Montevideo, Frederick N. Hegg of Minneapolis, Oscar R. Knutson of Warren, Dr. R. Theodore Muller of St. Paul, and Ruth Nordquist of Minneapolis. A recent subscriber to the publications of the society is the St. Peter Public Library.

The society lost four active members by death during the past quarter: Henry McColl of St. Paul, July 29; Theophilus L. Haecker of St. Paul, August 12; Dr. Lotus D. Coffman of Minneapolis, September 22; and Otto E. Albrecht of St. Paul, September 28.

The superintendent spoke on "Immigration and the Westward Movement in Ballad and Song" at a University of Minnesota convocation on July 14; and he gave a radio talk on the "Northwest Ordinance and Minnesota" over station KSTP on July 27. Mr. Babcock addressed a meeting of the Thunder Bay Historical Society at Port Arthur, Canada, on the "Romance of the Fur Trade" on August 26; he spoke on the same subject at a meeting of the Cook County Historical Society at Grand Marais on September 30; and he reviewed the history of the "Grand Portage Stockade" before members of the CCC camp at Grand Portage on September 6.

#### ACCESSIONS

A valuable addition to the society's collection of materials relating to the expedition under Major Stephen H. Long which explored the Minnesota and Red river valleys in 1823 is a copy of a diary kept by the astronomer and assistant topographer of the party, James E. Colhoun. The original, in the possession of Mrs. John Galligan of Lanesboro, has been copied on filmstrips. Colhoun presents some interesting comments on Fort St. Anthony, now Fort Snelling, where members of the Long expedition stopped early in July. They found a "garrison consisting of about 200 men . . . under the command of Col. Snelling" at this "remotest Northwest military post." "Its site is perfectly healthy," writes Colhoun, "the fertility of the sur-

rounding country, the beauty of its prospect & its commanding & interesting location render this, by far the most desirable, as a residence, of all the Outposts I have seen." After visiting the Falls of St. Anthony, Minnehaha Falls, and some of the lakes in the vicinity of the fort, Colhoun concluded that "Few places are superior to Fort St. Anthony in having, in their neighborhood, a greater variety and number of interesting natural objects, inviting to little excursions over fine plains."

A book of orders issued at old Fort Snelling from January 1 to May 30, 1826, by Colonel Josiah Snelling and in 1828 by his successor as commandant, Major J. H. Vose, has been copied by the photostatic process from the original in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library through the courtesy of Dr. M. M. Quaife. Many of Snelling's orders relate to cases of court martial. When a soldier was found guilty of misconduct, the penalty often was the cutting off of his whisky ration for thirty days. The need for a good supply of vegetables caused the colonel to issue the following order in the spring of 1826: "All parades and Military duties, guard Mounting excepted, will be suspended, and every man not on detail, will be employed in gardening." The record also contains material relating to the establishment of a post library, which was planned by a council of administration made up of officers. A photostatic copy has been made also of a diary and account book kept by Colonel Snelling in 1827, the original of which is owned by Mrs. William Ritchie of Omaha. Many of the entries relate to Indian affairs and to the colonel's property and personal belongings at Fort Snelling. An article based upon this diary appeared in MINNESOTA HISTORY last year (see *ante*, 18:399-406).

A manuscript Sioux-English dictionary compiled by the Reverend John F. Aiton, a missionary who went to Red Wing's village in 1848, is the gift of Mr. L. A. Rossman of Grand Rapids. He has presented also a copy of an *English and Dakota Vocabulary* by Mrs. Mary Ann C. Riggs, published at New York by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1852. The latter was reprinted from the *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language* which was edited by Stephen R. Riggs and issued by the Smithsonian Institution in the same year.

A diary kept from 1852 to 1877 by Samuel C. Gale, who settled in Minneapolis in 1857, has been photographed for the society through the courtesy of his son, Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis, who owns the original. Some of the earlier entries were made while the author was a student at Yale University; later entries record events of local interest in frontier Minneapolis and reflect the writer's views of state and national politics.

Nineteen items from the papers of John Nicols, who settled in St. Paul in 1851 and became a state senator and a regent of the University of Minnesota, have been presented by his granddaughter, Mrs. Leisa G. Bronson of Claremont, California. One letter in the collection, written by Philip Ross at St. Paul on September 22, 1854, includes an account of the recent land sale at Stillwater and describes the efforts of members of the Military Reserve Claim Association to safeguard the rights of its members. "It was the wildest scene I ever witnessed," writes Ross.

A wealth of material relating to members of the Hutchinson family, their musical activities, and the Minnesota town that they established in 1855 has been received from Mrs. Lyman E. Wakefield of Minneapolis, a daughter of Abby Hutchinson. Included are the original constitution drawn up and signed by members of the company that laid out the townsite of Hutchinson, certificates of shares in the townsite, correspondence and legal documents relating to the sale or transfer of shares and lots, and letters written by John W. and Asa B. Hutchinson. Mrs. Wakefield has loaned for photographing a number of programs and advertisements of concerts given by members of the Hutchinson family, two volumes of songs composed or sung by them, several family pictures, and a diary kept in 1865 by Abby Hutchinson while on a concert tour in the East. A photographic copy has been obtained also of a diary kept in 1844 by Asa B. Hutchinson, now in the possession of his great granddaughter, Miss Mary Anderson of St. Paul.

A journey from Indiana to Minnesota in 1855 is described by Calvin R. Fix in his reminiscences, which have been photographed for the society through the courtesy of Mrs. Benjamin Sandy of Minneapolis. Information is included also on the author's ancestry, pioneer life in Scott County, his experiences as a member of the

Fourth and Eleventh Minnesota regiments in the Civil War, the Vermilion Lake gold rush of 1865, and other subjects.

Eight items from the papers of Charles Vanderburgh, a pioneer Minneapolis lawyer, have been photographed through the courtesy of Miss Anne G. Faries of Minneapolis. In one letter, written on April 28, 1856, he revealed that Minneapolis was "building up very rapidly. Four years ago not a habitation existed on its site."

"Some Reminiscences of My Childhood Days among the Indians in Minnesota, 1856-1862" recorded by Mrs. Sarah Purnell Montgomery of Minneapolis have been photographed for the society from the original in her possession. Her father, Edmund Purnell, emigrated with his family from Wisconsin to Minnesota in 1856, settling at South Bend.

Nine items from the papers of Joseph Fortier, a member of the Renville Rangers during the Sioux Outbreak and owner of a store at the Yellow Medicine agency, have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Henry A. Walker of Chicago, Illinois. Included are articles by Fortier on the causes of the outbreak and on the activities of Gabriel Renville in organizing the rangers, and an account book covering the period from 1863 to 1897 and giving the amount of hides and furs bought and sold by Fortier from 1878 to 1882. The earlier entries in the account book are written in French. Mrs. Walker also has presented a crayon portrait of Fortier and pictures of his store.

The activities of the Irish Emigrant Aid and Land Colonization Society, organized in New Jersey in 1870 through the efforts of Dillon O'Brien of St. Paul, the Graceville colony in Minnesota, and St. Patrick's Day celebrations at St. Paul and Austin are among the subjects of articles published in the seventies in the *Pilot*, a Catholic newspaper issued in Boston, recently copied for the society from a file in the Boston Public Library. From the *Advance* for the same period, items relating to the Red Lake and White Earth Indian reservations and to the route of the Northern Pacific Railroad have been copied. Comments on the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, George Copway, and Jane Grey Swisshelm have been copied from the *New York Tribune* for the fifties.

Registers kept at the Lakeside Hotel of Frontenac in 1871 and 1872 and from 1887 to 1893, when the Mississippi River town was a popular summer resort, have been received from the estate of Miss Celestine Schaller through the courtesy of Mrs. Thomas Quinby of Minneapolis.

A scrapbook of letters written to Hiram W. Slack, a teacher and principal in St. Paul schools between 1876 and 1908, is the gift of his daughter, Miss Marie L. Slack of Providence, Rhode Island. Among his correspondents were Newton H. Winchell, Cyrus Northrop, Frederick C. Stevens, and Ralston J. Markoe. Included are letters of recommendation from St. Paul teachers and principals, and data on the teachers' training school conducted at Lindstrom in 1895, on the summer camp for boys operated by Slack on Lake Pokegama in 1902, and on the St. Croix Collegiate and Military Academy at Hudson, Wisconsin, of which Slack was principal before going to St. Paul. Miss Slack also has presented a vest, tie, gloves, and slippers worn in 1876, and items of children's clothing dating from 1830 and 1880.

Information on the building of the first railroad from Duluth to the Soudan mine at Tower is to be found in a biographical sketch of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Owens by their daughter, Mrs. Maybelle Owens Strand, that has recently been photographed for the society. Mr. Owens was at one time an assayer of ores at Soudan, and he now resides at Two Harbors.

Fourteen certificates and other papers kept by Dr. Carl J. Holman, one of the founders of the Mankato Clinic, have been presented by his widow, Dr. Madge T. Holman of Los Angeles, California. The gift includes Dr. Holman's diploma from Rush Medical College, his licenses to practice medicine in Illinois and Minnesota, certificates of appointment as a member of the Minnesota state board of medical examiners, his portrait, and a picture of the Surgeon's Club of Rochester in 1909.

Two volumes of minutes of meetings of the Trades and Labor Assembly of St. Paul for the years from 1914 to 1925 have been added to the records of that organization (see *ante*, 17:99) through the courtesy of its secretary, Mr. E. D. McKinnon.

Mrs. Carl Moe of Oxboro Heath has presented two volumes of minutes of meetings held from 1920 to 1924 by the Community League of Oxboro Heath, a women's organization which undertook to finance a Sunday school, establish a community church, and promote civic enterprises. It disbanded in 1926 after a community church had been built.

Nine filing boxes of the papers of the late Edwin H. Brown, a Minneapolis architect who was a member of the building code committee of the department of commerce from 1921 to 1930 and who participated in the president's conference on unemployment in 1921-22, have been presented by his widow, a resident of Minneapolis. Included are minutes of meetings of the building code committee; reports on minimum requirements for small dwellings, for masonry wall construction, for fire resistance in buildings, and for building codes; reports on plumbing and on stresses in timber, steel, and concrete; and mimeographed reports on unemployment in various industries.

Three boxes of papers of the Thirteenth Minnesota Regimental Association, including material relating to a Minnesota law of 1931 granting a bonus to Spanish-American War veterans, correspondence relating to reunions, and treasurers' accounts for the years from 1923 to 1932, have been received from the association through its secretary, Mr. L. P. Burlingham of Minneapolis.

A copy of a doctoral dissertation by Frank Heck entitled "The Civil War Veteran in Minnesota Politics" has been presented by the department of history of the University of Minnesota. Copies of two master's theses, "History of the Early Development of Owatonna, 1854-1901" by Andrew F. Jensen, and "The Winnebago Indians, 1634-1863" by Joseph T. Estabrook, are gifts of the same department. "Adult Education in Churches" is the title of a master's thesis by Miss Edith L. Guyor that has been presented by the author.

The history of Gooseberry Falls State Park is reviewed in a paper read by Mr. Edwin S. Cay at the tenth annual North Shore Historical Assembly on July 29, a copy of which has been presented by the Lake County Historical Society. A letter written on July 5,



1938, to Mr. Cay by Mr. Henry S. Butler of Superior, Wisconsin, giving information on the acquisition of property for the park, has been copied for the society through the courtesy of the latter's sister, Miss Anna B. Butler of Superior.

A copy of *Blanchard's Map of Minnesota and Dakota Showing the Counties, Towns and Rail Roads*, which was published at Chicago in 1867, has been presented by Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh.

Among recent additions to the toy collection are a fully dressed baby doll of 1905, from Miss Marie C. Stanek of St. Paul; an iron doll bed with bedding, dating from 1868, from Mrs. James H. Skinner of St. Paul; a set of toy furniture and a doll's parasol of the middle seventies, from Miss Frances Firkins of Minneapolis; and a savings bank in the form of a skyscraper, from Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul. Mrs. Skinner also has presented a gentleman's wedding vest of 1858 and a calico wrapper of the sixties, and Miss Firkins an evening dress of pink brocaded silk, slippers, and a fan, dating from 1896.

A silver card case dated 1860, a tortoise shell case of 1827, a carved ivory one of 1800, and a masonic apron which belonged to the donor's grandfather in 1800 are the gifts of Mrs. F. W. Van Slyke of St. Paul.

A military cape and cap, a sword, a saddle and bridle, an army blanket, a mess kit, and numerous articles of gentlemen's clothing that belonged to the late Captain William B. Folwell have been presented by Miss Mary H. Folwell of Minneapolis. Other additions to the costume collection include a gentleman's dress suit of 1903, from Mrs. Bernard Blum of St. Paul; a blue taffeta wedding dress of 1876, from the Fort Snelling chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; a red velvet dress with a matching bonnet worn in 1887, from the estate of the late Mrs. Josiah Thompson of Minneapolis; a white organdy dress and several pieces of lingerie, from a trousseau of 1903, from Mrs. Lewis L. Metzger of St. Paul; suits of black velvet and silk, a white organdy dress of 1905, a beaded cape of the eighties, and a silk parasol of 1890, from Mrs. Albert W. Lindeke of St. Paul; a large muff and a fan, from Mr. Paul E. Davenport of Minneapolis; and a red woolen shawl, a black lace

fichu, a scarf, and a handkerchief with a gold chain used in carrying it in 1850, from Mrs. H. W. Kingston of St. Paul.

An oil portrait of Charles Hoag, a Minneapolis pioneer of 1852 who suggested the name for the future city, is the gift of Mrs. C. A. Olson of Minneapolis. Mrs. Harrison McKusick of Stillwater has presented portraits of two early St. Croix Valley lumbermen, Jonathan E. and William McKusick. Other additions to the picture collection include views of Melrose, from Mr. Everett E. Clark of Sleepy Eye; a picture of a log cabin at Climax, from Mr. Louis W. Hill, Jr., of St. Paul; a picture of a *kubberulle*, from Mr. E. T. Barnard of Fergus Falls; a number of logging views made between 1897 and 1900, from Mr. H. J. Cundy of Wenatchee, Washington; and portraits of members of the Minnesota legislature of 1907, from Mr. L. H. Johnson of Minneapolis.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

"ONE HUNDRED sample entries" are included in a *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States*, prepared and issued in mimeographed form by the Historical Records Survey (Columbus, Ohio, 1938. 134 p.). In the preface, Luther H. Evans, national director of the survey, explains that the "depositories selected for this sample edition have been chosen to show the scope of our work and to represent every state." Minnesota is represented by its state historical society and by one of the half-hundred local historical societies—that of Otter Tail County at Fergus Falls—now organized in the state. For each depository, information is given about its history and purpose, with a description of the building in which it is housed, the nature and extent of its holdings, and facilities available for using and copying manuscripts.

Methods of fumigating, cleaning, flattening, and repairing records are discussed by Arthur E. Kimberly in an article on "Repair and Preservation in the National Archives," which appears in the July number of the *American Archivist*. He tells also how the "operation of the air-conditioning system so as to insure optimum storage conditions" is regulated.

The "Hudson's Bay Company's Activities" in caring for and planning the publication of its archives are discussed by E. E. Rich in the September issue of the *Pacific Historical Review*. The writer estimates that "over 30,000 separate files and volumes" are included in the collection of documents now assembled in London. Of these "nearly 17,000 pieces have been carefully classified, catalogued and arranged. The remaining 13,000 odd pieces have been roughly classed, and the work of making them available for consultation is still continuing." Mr. Rich explains that "the Hudson's Bay Company has vested the rights of publication of its archives in the Hudson's Bay Record Society." In time this organization will doubtless make available in print many priceless sources for Northwest history. It plans to publish first, for example, the journal kept in 1820-21 at Athabaska by George Simpson, with an introduction by Professor Chester Martin of Toronto University. For each of its publications,

writes Mr. Rich, "the Society hopes to secure an Introduction written by a historian who is an acknowledged authority on the topic under discussion, and who will have the full resources of the Company's archives at his disposal."

A section of Professor Edwin H. Ford's valuable *History of Journalism in the United States: A Bibliography of Books and Annotated Articles* (1938. 42 p.) is devoted to books and articles about journalism in the West and the South. Here, for example, is listed the volume of Jane Grey Swisshelm's letters published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1934. A *Bibliography of Literary Journalism in America* also has been prepared by Mr. Ford. Both lists have been published by the offset process.

Accounts of French posts on the upper Mississippi from 1685 to 1760 are presented by Glenn T. Trewartha in an article on "French Settlement in the Driftless Hill Land," which appears in the *Annals* of the Association of American Geographers for September. Included are brief sketches of Trempealeau, Fort St. Antoine, Fort St. Nicolas, a post built by Perrot near the lead mines, Fort Le Sueur on Prairie Island, Fort Beauharnois, Fort Linctot, Fort St. Pierre, French posts on the site of Prairie du Chien, and Fort Marin. The author points out that "the French came as exploiters, not as settlers, and as a result their settlements were temporary and unsubstantial in character." Some interesting maps appear with the article. A review of "Materials Bearing upon the Geography of the Atlantic Seaboard, 1790 to 1810" is contributed to the same issue of the *Annals* by Ralph H. Brown, whose article on "Early Accounts of Minnesota's Climate" appears *ante*, 17:243-261. The writer opens his present discussion with a survey of "Recent Viewpoints in Historical Geography."

In a recent biography of *Horatio Seymour of New York*, Stewart Mitchell analyzes an address delivered by Seymour before a "grand mass meeting of the Democracy" at St. Paul in August, 1859 (Cambridge, 1938). Although his pro-slavery speech was a "public success," the Minnesota election of 1859 resulted in victory for the Republicans. Among the leaders of the latter party who won votes by speaking in the new state in the fall of 1859 were Schuyler Colfax, Francis P. Blair, Jr., and Carl Schurz.

Studies of *Ojibwa Sociology* and of *The Ojibwa Woman* by Ruth Landes have been published as volumes 29 and 31 of the Columbia University *Contributions to Anthropology* (1937, 1938. 144, 247 p.). Both deal with the Chippewa of southwestern Ontario, and both include accounts of practices followed by the Chippewa of northern Minnesota as well as of the Canadian province. The earlier volume includes chapters on the political, kinship, and gens organizations of these people, and on marriage and property; in the later publication chapters are devoted to the youth, marriage, occupations, abnormalities, and life histories of Chippewa women.

The missionary activities among the Indians of the Northwest of Bishop Frederic Baraga are reviewed in an article bearing the title "Father Baraga May Be Beatified," which appears in the *Duluth News Tribune* for August 28. Included are accounts of his work at Arbre Croche, Grand River, La Pointe, Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, and other points in northern Michigan and Minnesota. The story of the missionary's arrival at the mouth of Cross River after a stormy voyage on Lake Superior also is retold.

In a discussion of "The Western Frontier of 1860," appearing in the *Aerend*, a publication of the Kansas State Teachers College, for the winter of 1938, Raymond L. Welty gives some attention to Minnesota, most of which at the time was "really outside of the frontier." He points out, however, that the "frontier line of settlement, which divided the regions having a density of two or more persons to the square mile from those of less than two persons," in 1860 struck the southern boundary of the state "near the 94th meridian" and thence "ran north between the 94th and 95th meridians to about the central part of Minnesota, where it turned east running in a generally easterly direction to Lake Michigan." The same author contributes an account of "The Policing of the Frontier by the Army, 1860-1870," to the *Kansas Historical Quarterly* for August. He reveals that "the legislature of Minnesota petitioned congress for the establishment of a military post at Pembina because of the revolution in the Red river valley and the apprehension of incursions by renegade hostile Sioux who had been driven to Canada from Minnesota and the territory of Dakota in 1862 and 1863. Congress appropriated \$50,000 for the construction of a post and by the fall of 1870 it was practically completed." Troops stationed at this post helped to con-

trol an "illicit trade in powder, arms and whisky with the Indians" that reached Minnesota over the Canadian border, according to Mr. Welty.

"The Mississippi River as an Artistic Subject" in both the literary and pictorial fields is discussed by Lucius W. Elder in a volume of *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1937* issued by the Illinois State Historical Society (Springfield, 1938. 241 p.). Descriptions of explorers, narratives of travelers, and a few mediocre verses are noted, but the writer concludes that "verbal description fails to interpret adequately except when employed by the highest art; and persons endowed with the highest art certainly were not prevalent in the western world at large." He points out, however, that nature can "be drawn with the pencil or painted with the brush of the pictorial artist," and that as transportation became simpler, many artists attempted "to visualize, for the public, the glories" of the Mississippi Valley. Specifically mentioned are Bodmer, Lesueur, Banvard, and Lewis, and the lithographs of Currier and Ives. Sixteen Mississippi River views reproduced with the article add greatly to its interest.

An important article on "Buffington and the Skyscraper" by E. M. Upjohn, published in the *Art Bulletin* for 1935, has not previously been commented upon in this magazine. Professor Upjohn drew upon Buffington's unpublished "Memoirs," his papers, and his architectural drawings in the library of the University of Minnesota, as well as upon certain manuscript sources in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The writer concludes that the "honor of building the first skyscraper" must go to Colonel W. L. B. Jenney, for a building erected in 1883. He shows, however, that in 1882 Leroy S. Buffington of Minneapolis conceived the "revolutionary construction which has made possible the towering structures characteristic of American cities," and that "it was the publicity given to his twenty-eight-story building which was responsible in large part for the spread of the knowledge of this form of construction in the architectural world."

One phase of the career of Thomas Say, the distinguished naturalist who went through Minnesota with the Long expedition of 1823, is discussed by R. E. Banta in an article on "The American Con-

chology: A Venture in Backwoods Book Printing," which appears in the *Colophon* for the winter of 1938. Say was one of the original settlers of the idealistic New Harmony community in Indiana, and there his *Conchology* appeared in parts from 1830 to about 1838. A news release issued by the National Park Service on September 24 has for its subject "Thomas Say, the 'Father of American Descriptive Entomology.'" It mentions Say's connection with the Long expeditions of 1819 and 1823, but states erroneously that the former was "Long's first expedition." The writer evidently overlooked the "canoe voyage" to the mouth of the Minnesota River in 1817.

*Our Racial and National Minorities: Their History, Contributions, and Present Problems* is the title of a recent volume edited by Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek (New York, 1937). Sections on Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish Americans, by B. J. Hovde, Roy V. Peel, and A. T. Dorf, have perhaps a greater interest for Minnesotans than other portions of the volume. Mr. Hovde, particularly, gives attention to Minnesota's significance as a center for Scandinavian settlement.

A detailed biographical essay on Senator Knute Nelson is included in a volume of *Portræter og profiler* by the distinguished Norwegian writer and statesman, C. J. Hambro (Oslo, 1938). Among these "portraits and profiles" also is a notable essay on Colonel Hans C. Heg, the commander of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Regiment in the Civil War, based primarily upon the colonel's letters as edited and published in a recent volume by T. C. Blegen.

*My Reasonable Service* is the title of a little volume in which Deaconess Ingeborg Sponland presents her autobiography (Minneapolis, 1938. 158 p.). In a chapter entitled "Pioneering in the Northwest," she tells of emigrating from Norway in 1891, of joining relatives in Minnesota, of serving from 1891 to 1904 as head of the Deaconess Hospital in Minneapolis, and of establishing similar hospitals in smaller communities in Minnesota and North Dakota.

In a survey of "Art and Artists in Baltimore," which appears in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September, Latrobe Weston gives some attention to the life and career of Frank B. Mayer. It will be recalled that the western sketches and diary of this Baltimore

artist were published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1932 in a volume entitled *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851*.

Many of the articles that are being published in Iowa to commemorate the centennial of its organization as a territory are significant also as records of Minnesota frontier history, for all the land west of the Mississippi in the more northern state was included in the territory organized in 1838. The overlapping of territorial and historical backgrounds in these states of the Midwest becomes evident, for example, when one reads in the July issue of the *Palimpsest* that "From Lake Itasca to the mouth of the Des Moines River, the Father of Waters flowed almost half its length (1100 miles) along the eastern border" of Iowa Territory. The statement appears in William J. Petersen's survey of "The Geography of Iowa," which is accompanied by an interesting map of the territory. That Lawrence Taliaferro of St. Peter's was a candidate for the office of delegate to Congress from the territory in 1838 is brought out by Jack T. Johnson in an article in the September *Palimpsest* on William W. Chapman, the "Pioneer and Politician" who was elected to the position. Articles on the "Background to the Establishment of the Territory of Iowa" by O. E. Klingaman, and on "Iowa's Struggle for a Territorial Government" by Kenneth E. Colton appear in the *Annals of Iowa* for July. A "Joint Centennial Edition" of the *Decorah Public Opinion* and the *Decorah Journal* was issued in six sections on August 25 to mark the anniversary. Among the scores of special historical articles and community histories in this edition is a detailed review of the "Early History of Winneshiek County" by Sigurd S. Reque, shorter accounts of Spillville, Calmar, and Fort Atkinson, and a description of the Norwegian-American Historical Museum at Decorah. The Iowa highway map of 1938 calls attention to the "statewide territorial centennial," and on its reverse side appear a list of "historic spots" in the state and numerous pictures of sites of interest.

The Reverend M. M. Hoffmann has compiled and edited a *Centennial History of the Archdiocese of Dubuque* (Dubuque, 1938), which is of some interest to Minnesotans because the original diocese, created in 1837, included the territory embraced by the present state of Minnesota. Until the diocese of St. Paul was established in 1850,



the sphere of influence of Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque extended throughout the Minnesota country.

In *Down through 80 Years*, Mr. Lorenzo D. Davidson of Minneapolis presents his "random observations on the life and times of these past and most stirring eight decades" (Hopkins, Minnesota, 1938. 149 p.). Experiences in many states of the Middle West are recorded, but most of the author's earlier recollections are localized in Indiana. Of interest for all students of frontier life, however, are chapters dealing with such subjects as "The Country School," "The Old Time Church," "The Old Time Doctor," "The Country Store," "The Country Dance," "Those McGuffey Readers," "Turnpike and Toll Gate," the "Spelling Bee," and the "Horse and Buggy Drugstore."

"Father Marquette Exploring the Shores of Lake Superior" is the subject of a mural painted by Dewey Albinson of Minneapolis recently for the post office at Marquette, Michigan.

La Vérendrye, the French explorer of the upper Northwest, was honored at Winnipeg and St. Boniface during the first week in September in celebrations which marked the two-hundredth anniversary of his arrival at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. The story of his adventures in what are now Minnesota and Manitoba was reviewed in a pageant, the opening performance of which was presented at the Winnipeg Auditorium on September 3. A monument commemorating the services of the explorer, and particularly his founding of Fort Maurepas, was unveiled at Fort Alexander, at the mouth of the Winnipeg River, on September 4. Participating in the ceremonies were members of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, the Historical Society of St. Boniface, and the Metis Historical Society. Another feature of the celebration was a parade of historical floats on September 5. A special section of the *Winnipeg Free Press* of September 2 is devoted to articles about La Vérendrye, his sons, and his nephew in the Northwest. Here are included accounts of the explorer's search for the Northwest Passage, of the tragedy of Massacre Island, of the discovery of the remains of Fort St. Charles, and of the chain of forts that he and his followers built.

Clifford P. Wilson is the author of a brief account of "La Vérendrye 200 Years Ago" and of the French explorer's search for the

Western Sea, appearing in the *Beaver* for September. In the same issue "More Light on Thomas Simpson," the Arctic explorer who met his tragic death while on a journey from Fort Garry to St. Paul in 1840, is provided by Douglas MacKay and W. Kaye Lamb.

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Two substantial volumes, composed of 357 mimeographed sheets, are occupied by the second section of the *Inventory of Federal Archives in the States* to be published by the Minnesota Historical Records Survey (St. Paul, 1938). Here are listed the voluminous archives of the United States department of agriculture found in bureaus and branch offices located in every section and every county of Minnesota. Included are inventories of the records of the federal bureaus of agricultural economics, agricultural engineering, animal industry, biological survey, entomology and plant quarantine, plant industry, and public roads; of the agricultural adjustment, commodities exchange, food and drug, and resettlement administrations; of the extension, forest, and soil conservation services; and of the ten stations of the United States weather bureau in Minnesota. These volumes are among the products of the survey of federal archives in Minnesota, made in 1936 and 1937 as a project of the WPA. It was directed by Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, and Jacob Hodnefield, who is now in charge of the Historical Records Survey. The first volume issued by the Minnesota survey listed the archives of the department of the navy in the state; inventories of the records of all other federal departments operating in the state have been completed, and they are now being edited, preparatory to their production in mimeographed form.

A volume of selected *Readings in Early Minnesota History*, edited by Theodore C. Blegen, has been issued by the University of Minnesota in mimeographed form (1938. 286 p.). The selections, which have been extracted mainly from source materials, such as letters, diaries, newspaper accounts, travel narratives, and official documents, cover the period from the early French explorations to the end of the Civil War. It makes available illustrative readings to supplement Mr. Blegen's newly published volume, *Building Minnesota*.

The publication late in November, as a volume in the *American Guide Series*, of *Minnesota: A State Guide* has been announced by the

Minnesota Federal Writers' Project, under whose auspices the book was compiled and written. Chapters on the Indians of Minnesota, the history of the state, agriculture, immigration and racial elements, transportation, education, the press, sports, the arts, and on individual cities and villages are included in this volume of more than five hundred pages. Here, too, are outlined twenty automobile trips in the state, and fifteen canoe trips in the Superior National Forest. A review of this newly published guidebook will appear in a future issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY.

Those who have traveled the waters of Minnesota's northern borderland and have found themselves inarticulate before its bewitching beauty will find in Florence Page Jaques' *Canoe Country* a sympathetic and satisfying expression of their emotions (1938. 78 p.). The book is an informal record of a three-weeks' canoe trip made by the author and her husband on boundary waters—a splendid adventure that Mrs. Jaques shares with the reader through her keen sensitivity, her vitality and humor, and the simplicity and sincerity of her writing. Supplementing the author's word pictures of the canoe country are the numerous and superb illustrations drawn in black and white by her husband, Francis Lee Jaques, who is well known for his exquisite bird paintings—among them those in Dr. Thomas S. Roberts' *Birds of Minnesota*—and for his bird habitat groups in the American Museum of Natural History. The publishers, the University of Minnesota Press, are to be congratulated on the perfection of design and format of the book. M. W. B.

The "History of Medicine in Minnesota" which has been appearing in installments in *Minnesota Medicine* since the first of the year is continued in the July, August, and September issues with a review of "Medicine in Washington and Chisago Counties" (see *ante*, p. 357). Two physicians were among those who entered the St. Croix Valley immediately after the treaty of 1837 in search of pine lands, according to this account. The "first practicing physician north of Prairie du Chien," however, is said to have been Dr. Christopher Carli, who settled at Dakotah, later Stillwater, in the spring of 1841.

"The Grand Portage Trail is truly the first white man's road in Minnesota," writes Harry D. Thorn in an article on "The Trail of

the Voyageurs," which appears in the *M. A. C. Gopher* for August. The writer draws a contrast between the busy trading post that once existed at Grand Portage and the sleepy village now to be found at the east end of the old portage trail.

The centennial of the establishment of the Catholic church at Grand Portage by Father Francis Pierz was commemorated in the little North Shore community on August 28. Priests from neighboring communities and from St. John's Abbey at Collegeville and representatives of historical societies and of Catholic organizations went to Grand Portage to join members of the congregation in celebrating the centennial. Father Pierz "blessed a chapel, constructed of cedar bark" at Grand Portage on July 25, 1838.

On September 11, the centennial of the birth of Archbishop John Ireland, a plaque in his memory was dedicated at the Basilica of St. Mary in Minneapolis. Among the speakers who recalled his services as the first archbishop of St. Paul were the Most Reverend John G. Murray, the present archbishop, and Bishop John J. Lawler of Rapid City, South Dakota.

A chapter on the "Minnesota Gymnasia" is included in a volume entitled *One Hundred Years of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism in America* by Daniel J. Williams (Philadelphia, 1937). Special attention is given to Welsh settlements in Blue Earth County, on the Iowa boundary in Fillmore County, and in Minneapolis. The author points out that an interesting feature of Welsh settlement in Minnesota was the fact that Welshmen who went to this state "emigrated from other Welsh settlements in states east of the Mississippi River" rather than direct from Wales.

"Trommald, Manganese, Cuyuna, Northland—all were once thriving communities, with prosperous stores, banks and other business places," writes Fred H. Strong in an article on "Ghost Towns" of the Minnesota iron ranges, which appears in the magazine section of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for August 28. He tells also of Babbitt on the Mesabi Range, and of Barrows and Oreland on the Cuyuna, once prosperous towns that are now "mere skeletons, with grass growing in the streets." A "Dream Town That Never Came True," Hennepin in the county of the same name, is the subject of

a short sketch in the *Minneapolis Journal* for July 8. A plat of this town, prepared in 1852, is in the office of the Hennepin County register of deeds. Some ghost towns of the Minnesota Valley, particularly in the vicinity of Morgan, are described by Gordon H. West in the *Morgan Messenger* for September 1. Among those noted are Wayburne, Rowena, Paxton, Golden Gate, Lone Tree Lake, and Riverside.

Life at Randall in Morrison County in the nineties of the past century is described by Thomas Pederson in an installment of his "Recollections" appearing in the September issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. There the author operated a sawmill and conducted a grocery business. His narrative includes a description of the forest fire of 1894 in central Minnesota.

Brief historical sketches of banks established in southern and eastern Minnesota in the fifties and sixties of the past century have been appearing as advertisements in the weekly issues of the *Commercial West* since May 28. Included are accounts of the First National banks of Winona, Stillwater, Hastings, St. Peter, Shakopee, and Owatonna, and of the Root River State Bank of Chatfield.

The excavations on the site of the Joseph R. Brown home near Renville and plans for its reconstruction are the subjects of numerous articles in recent issues of local newspapers, particularly those published in Minnesota Valley communities. In July, the *Sacred Heart News* reprinted in installments the imaginary letters of a visitor to the Brown mansion in 1861, which were written by Dr. Folwell and first published in MINNESOTA HISTORY, ante, 12:111-133. "Joseph R. Brown's Steam Wagon" is the subject of an article by George Allanson in the *Henderson Independent* of August 19, and in the same issue appears an account of the capture of members of the Brown family by the Sioux in August, 1862. The first of a series of articles about Brown, the "Man of Many 'Firsts,'" appears in the *Redwood Gazette* for September 8.

The seventy-sixth anniversary of the Sioux War was marked at a meeting of the Fort Ridgely State Park and Historical Association held at the site of the old fort on August 22. Among the speakers was Mr. Henry N. Benson of St. Peter, who told something of the

early history of Traverse des Sioux, and Mr. Joseph Tompkins of Minneapolis, who recalled Fort Ridgely as he knew it when he was a boy.

Sketches of several members of a Minneapolis milling family are included in a two-volume work on the *Ancestry of Charles Stinson Pillsbury and John Sargent Pillsbury* compiled by Mary L. Holman (1938. xii, 1212 p.). Among those whose biographies appear in the volumes are George A. Pillsbury, who removed to Minneapolis in 1878, became associated with his son in the milling firm of C. A. Pillsbury and Company, and served as mayor of Minneapolis; his brother, Governor John S. Pillsbury; his sons, Charles A. and Fred C. Pillsbury; and his grandsons, Charles S. and John S. Pillsbury.

Accounts of a beech tree on Gray Cloud Island and of a white pine of unusual size at Cass Lake are included in a booklet on *Famous Trees*, prepared by Charles E. Ramdall and D. Priscilla Edgerton and issued by the United States Department of Agriculture as number 295 of its *Miscellaneous Publications* (1938. 115 p.).

#### LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Among the local historical societies that have solved successfully the problem of displaying and storing their collections is that of Rice County. This organization is particularly fortunate in having quarters in the handsome Buckham Memorial Library at Faribault, completed in 1930. In a large and attractive room on the third floor, museum objects, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, pictures, newspapers, maps, and other items of historical value accumulated by the society since its organization in 1926 are safely and appropriately housed. In one large display case, Indian artifacts, bead work, and the like are placed on exhibit; another is devoted to objects illustrative of pioneer domestic life in the county; and a third contains articles sold in early Faribault stores, accounts of some early industrial concerns, and other items that reflect the commercial development of the community. Of special interest among the many pictures that decorate the walls are a color lithograph of Faribault in 1874, an oil painting of the city executed about 1880 by an itinerant artist, and a small lithograph of "Gorman's Brigade at Camp Stone," including the

First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, in the fall of 1861. Notable portraits in the collection are an oil painting of Bishop Henry B. Whipple, and a daguerreotype of James Shields made in 1858 while he was a resident of Minnesota.

Particularly significant are the manuscripts assembled by the Rice County society. Bishop Whipple, whose home was in Faribault, is represented by a series of manuscript sermons dating from 1851 to 1860, an account book of 1871, and a few miscellaneous letters. The business records of the law firm of Batchelder and Buckham of Faribault, of which Judge Thomas S. Buckham was a member, are here. Included are account books, land warrants, and lists of real-estate transactions for the years from 1853 to 1911. The records of the Brown-Martin Lumber Company of Northfield are preserved by the Rice County society, as are the court dockets of the Faribault justice of the peace for 1856, 1857, 1864, and 1867. The society has in its possession many records of institutions and organizations, including those of the state school for the deaf from 1863 to 1887, the Travelers Club of Faribault from 1900 to 1928, the Live Topics Club from 1909 to 1925, and the Musical Art Society for 1920. The society is making an effort to collect items relating to the important schools and colleges in the county, and it has succeeded in assembling notable files of catalogues, programs, and publications of these institutions. Local church and cemetery records also are preserved in its files. Some of the society's material is arranged in vertical filing cases of metal, but many of the manuscript record books and letters are stored in wooden cases and drawers. An accessions record is kept, and a card catalogue is being prepared. With the co-operation of the local WPA, the society is making an index of material in Rice County newspapers. Here is a tool of inestimable value for students of local history, librarians, and all who are interested in the county's past—a guide to material in files preserved by the Faribault Public Library, covering the years from 1857 to 1928. Although the index now occupies some eighteen thousand cards and fills thirty-six drawers of a large filing case, it is still growing, for according to present plans it will be brought up to date. Mrs. H. C. Theopold is curator of the Rice County museum, and to her belongs much of the credit for its attractive appearance and for the systematic manner in which its collections are arranged.

B. L. H.

To stimulate interest in the organization of a local historical society, residents of Aitkin County were invited to display objects of historical interest at the county fair, which was held from August 22 to 24. A prize of five dollars was offered to the individual "exhibiting the article or articles of greatest interest." "It is hoped that the exhibit will lay the foundation for an Aitkin County Historical Society and a historical museum which can be housed in the new Industrial building," reads an announcement in the *Aitkin Republican* for August 4.

The collections of the Blue Earth County Historical Society and cases in which to display them have been removed from the public library in Mankato and arranged in the Hubbard home, recently acquired by the society. Much space is devoted to the display of museum objects, but a room on the second floor has been reserved for manuscripts, books, and newspapers of local historical interest. What was a carriage house will be used for the display of large museum objects, many of which formerly were kept at Sibley State Park. Miss Margaret Gable is curator of the new museum, which was opened to the public early in the fall.

About seventy-five members of the Brown County Historical Society participated in the first tour held under its auspices, visiting the site of an early trading post at Little Rock and Birch Cooley State Park on September 4. Mr. Fred W. Johnson spoke at both places, recalling the historical backgrounds of these interesting sites. Among the traders who operated at Little Rock were such well-known figures as Hazen Mooers and Joseph La Framboise; one of the most important battles of the Sioux War took place at Birch Cooley. Extensive articles about these sites, supplied by the local historical society, appear in the *New Ulm Daily Journal* for August 30 and September 2.

The Clearwater County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Bagley on July 26. L. Jensen of Clearbrook was named president, E. H. Reff of Bagley, vice-president, J. D. Ellis of Bagley, secretary, and John H. Gordon of Shevlin, treasurer.

"The Romance of the Fur Trade" was the subject of an illustrated address presented at a meeting of the Cook County Historical



Society at Grand Marais on September 30 by Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. The speaker gave special attention to the operations of French and British traders in the Grand Portage area.

A collection of arrow points, consisting of 268 items and representing Indian tribes in every section of the United States, has been presented to the Crow Wing County Historical Society by Miss Elizabeth Cowden of Geneva, Ohio. The collection was given as a memorial to the donor's brother, the late Fred Cowden, who assembled the arrowheads during his extensive travels over a period of more than forty years as a member of a circus company. Another notable addition to the Crow Wing County museum is a miniature model of a logging camp, constructed by Dudley J. Gordon of Daggett Brook Township. It is the subject of a detailed description in the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for July 12, where notice is given also to the many original logging tools and items of logging equipment to be seen in the museum at Brainerd.

The collection of articles of local historical interest that is being assembled by the Hennepin County Historical Society in the Oak Hill School at St. Louis Park is described in an illustrated article in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for August 27. A pair of "bog shoes" used on horses or mules when crossing swamps, a copy of the *Dakota Friend* of 1852, a candle mold, a spinning wheel, and various other objects are listed.

About forty members of the Hutchinson Historical Society participated in a tour held under its auspices on July 15. Henderson, Le Sueur, St. Peter, and New Ulm were among the points visited. The tourists stopped to see the Mayo house at Le Sueur and the museum of the Brown County Historical Society at New Ulm.

About three thousand people attended a picnic arranged jointly by the Marshall County Historical Society and the local old settlers' association at Menzel's Grove near Argyle on July 31. Mr. Clifford Bouvette of Hallock addressed the meeting, reviewing the early history of Marshall County and describing life in the vicinity of Pembina after 1869, when his father settled there.

To help the people of Sherburn celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of their village, members of the Martin County Historical Society held their tenth annual summer meeting and picnic in this community on August 28. More than three thousand people were present to witness the presentation of a pageant, "Do You Remember," in which the history of the village was reviewed in eleven episodes. Special historical exhibits, arranged in the windows of local stores for the occasion, are described in detail in a "Historical Section" of the *Sherburn Advance-Standard*, which appears with the issue of September 1. Included also is a "Sherburn Chronology" for the first year of its existence.

Mr. Frank B. Lamson has issued another in the series of pamphlets dealing with *Meeker County History* and published under the auspices of the Meeker County Historical Society (see *ante*, p. 117). The present booklet contains miscellaneous items of information relating to the history of the towns of Acton, Cosmos, Danielson, Swede Grove, and Union Grove, and the villages of Cosmos and Grove City.

A list of officers of Morrison County from 1856 to 1882 is printed in the *Little Falls Daily Transcript* for August 30. The original list is in the files of the Morrison County Historical Society.

At the annual meeting of the Nicollet County Historical Society, held at St. Peter on August 15, plans for the erection of a building to house the society's museum collection were discussed. Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis, president of the Minnesota Historical Society, was the principal speaker. The following officers were elected: Henry N. Benson, president; Mrs. M. E. Stone, vice-president; Miss Hattie I. Johnson, secretary-treasurer; and Dr. Conrad Peterson, historian. To aid the historical society in its building plans, the St. Peter Association has named a committee, of which Mr. W. S. O'Brien is chairman.

Scenes from the early history of Nobles County were depicted in a pageant presented at the annual meeting of the Nobles County Historical Society on August 21. Officers for the coming year were elected at the meeting. They are C. R. Saxon, president; Mrs. J. A. Gardner, vice-president; Oscar Kunzman, secretary; and Mrs. Bert Malmquist, treasurer.

About seventeen thousand visitors to the museum of the Otter Tail County Historical Society in the courthouse at Fergus Falls have registered during the past four years, according to a recent report of the secretary, Mr. E. T. Barnard. A number of recent additions to the collections of this museum are described in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for September 12.

Plans for the organization of a historical society in Pennington County were discussed at a meeting of the Thief River Falls society of the American Sons and Daughters of Sweden on July 29. To consider the matter and make plans for a permanent organization, Mr. Henry C. Eckland was instructed to name a committee of five, of which he would act as chairman.

Among the speakers who addressed a meeting of the Pipestone County Historical Society at Pipestone on September 5 were Mrs. Carrie Ludolph, who described "Early School Days" in the county, and Mrs. Lillian Weigert, who recalled "Early Days of School Teaching in Pipestone County." Mrs. Ludolph was named president of the organization for the coming year. Other officers elected were Mrs. Laura Brown, secretary, Mr. J. E. Morgan, treasurer, and Miss Marion Farmer, historian.

The aims of the Pope County Historical Society were explained by Mr. G. C. Torguson before members of the local old settlers' association meeting at Glenwood on September 11. The early history of the county was reviewed and the origins of many of its place names were explained by the principal speaker of the day, the Honorable Julius Schmahl.

Among the objects recently added to the museum collection of the Pope County Historical Society is a wooden shovel which has been used on Minnesota farms since 1851. It is the gift of Mr. G. H. Lewis of Benson. His account of its history appears in the *Pope County Tribune* of Glenwood for September 15.

The Roseau County Historical Society sponsored the presentation of a pageant, reviewing incidents in the early history of the county, which was presented at Pelan Park, near Greenbush, on August 21. According to one local paper, ten thousand people were present to

view the pageant. The Roseau County society now has more than a hundred members, according to the *Roseau Times-Region* of August 4.

The suggestion that a Sibley "county historical society be formed with headquarters in Henderson" is made in editorials in the *Henderson Independent* for September 16 and 30. The need for a museum in which objects of local historical interest can be properly housed and cared for as well as displayed is stressed by the writer, who believes that the city should "set aside a room in the community building for this purpose."

About sixty members of the Washington County Historical Society went to Marine on July 23 to attend a picnic, visit the Centennial House, and view exhibits arranged to mark the centennial of the village on the St. Croix (see *ante*, p. 363).

Mr. Fred W. Johnson of New Ulm was the principal speaker at the first annual picnic of the Watonwan County Historical Society, which was held at Long Lake on August 28. About four hundred people heard Mr. Johnson review the early history of Watonwan County, which once was a part of Brown County.

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

An "Account of the Events Leading up to the Founding of New Ulm," recorded by Frederick Beinhorn, one of the city's first settlers, appears in the *New Ulm Review* for August 15. He tells of the organization at Chicago under his leadership in August, 1853, of the Chicago Land Society, one of the two colonization projects that were responsible for the founding of New Ulm. His manuscript narrative, written in German on wrapping paper, is owned by the Brown County Historical Society. It was translated for publication by Martin L. F. Eyrich of New Ulm.

Two pages from a scorebook in which are to be found records of games played in 1867 and 1868 between the baseball clubs of Mankato and St. Peter are reproduced in the *Mankato Free Press* for August 16. This interesting manuscript record was found by Mr. C. A. Keene of North Mankato among his father's papers.

A "History of Amboy Township," prepared by Mabel Fairbairn, was read at a meeting of the Amboy Farm Bureau on June 26. The story of the Cottonwood County township is traced back to the survey of 1858-59 in this narrative, which is published in the *Jeffers Review* of June 30.

A historical sketch of St. Nicholas, the "first village" in Freeborn County, which was platted in 1855 by Jacob Lybrand and Samuel M. Thompson, is contributed to the *Albert Lea Evening Tribune* of September 13 by the Reverend W. E. Thompson.

"A Pioneer Boy's Experiences in a Corner of Goodhue County" are described by I. F. Grose in *Our Young People*, a Sunday school weekly published in Minneapolis, for September 4, 11, and 18. The writer, who was born in Kenyon Township in 1862 and lived there for fifteen years, presents a charming picture of his frontier home and of the schools that he attended. "Our house was a conventional white washed log dwelling with a log shanty attached," he writes. "Its cellar held potatoes, cheese, barrels of salt pork, and kegs of butter. The first floor, making up one room only, performed potentially the functions of parlor, living room, dining room, bedroom, and kitchen." Mr. Grose tells of attending common school in a one-room log schoolhouse and religious school in the farmhouses of the vicinity. When the community "established a library containing seventy books," he read them all, and then he turned to an "emigrant-chest full of books" belonging to a neighbor's hired man.

A "History of the Houston Baptist Church," read originally at a celebration commemorating its seventy-fifth anniversary in August, 1928, has been published in a pamphlet entitled *Historical Sketch of Eighty-five Years Existence and Work of Houston Baptist Church* (1938. 43 p.). Some sections dealing with the progress of the congregation in the past decade have been added. Church records and local newspapers are among the sources upon which the narrative is based.

Mr. L. A. Ogaard, who taught the first school at what is now International Falls, is the author of a brief article telling of his frontier experience there in the *Daily Journal* of International Falls for September 15. He tells of opening the school in the fall of 1894 in

a log structure measuring twelve by twenty feet. The furniture consisted of a long table, two benches, and a small blackboard. "There was no other equipment or furniture and no books, save what we borrowed from different homes," writes Mr. Ogaard. "The term of school was fixed at five months and the teacher's salary at \$35 per month." Seven pupils ranging in age from five to twelve years were enrolled.

Extracts from letters written from Fairmont between 1868 and 1871 by Mrs. John Boyce are quoted in a story of "Home Building in Pioneer Days" which appears in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for June 28. From northern New York, Mrs. Boyce went to Fairmont as a bride in the spring of 1868, and in letters to her mother and other members of her family in the East she pictured the raw new community and the conditions under which she lived on the frontier. She had "hardly expected to see the prairies look so large"; she found her neighbors "very friendly," and remarked that "most of them are from the east somewhere"; she was hungry for the apples that were so plentiful in her home state but scarce in the West. She reported that "Dried apples are about \$5 a bushel and green ones about \$6 or \$7. Just common ones. They had some down at the fair which they sold three for ten cents. It is hard to stretch a body's conscience to pay that much for anything." Mrs. Boyce's letters were preserved by members of her family and recently they came into the possession of her son, Mr. William R. Boyce of Fairmont.

A historical account of "The Farm Bureau and Agricultural Extension Work in Meeker County, 1918-1938" has been prepared by Ralph W. Wayne, the county agent, and issued in multigraphed form. Students of recent agricultural history and of the co-operative movement will find this brief narrative of value.

A "History of Polk County" by Julius Schmahl appears in installments in the *Crookston Daily Times* from August 17 to 24. The writer deals with the Indians of the county, explorers who passed through the region, the organization of the county, and the founding and naming of its cities, villages, and townships. An account of the progress of the Crookston Band under the direction of Mr. G. Oliver Riggs, who became bandmaster forty years ago, appears in the *Times* for September 23.

*Rice County: The Story of Its Discovery and Settlement* is the title of a narrative by Raymond Munson, which has been issued as a multigraphed pamphlet by the Minnesota Federal Writers' Project, under the sponsorship of the state department of education (45 p.). It is one of a series of Minnesota county histories intended to acquaint children in the grade schools with the stories of their localities. The central figure in the present narrative is Alexander Faribault, the founder of the city that bears his name and the "Father of Rice County." Much of the text is presented in the form of conversations between Faribault and other early settlers in Rice County. Joseph N. Nicollet, John North, and Bishop Whipple are among other historical characters who appear in these pages.

Members of the Faribault family and other pioneer settlers of Rice County figure prominently in Johanna M. O'Leary's *Historical Sketch of the Parish of the Immaculate Conception, Faribault, Minnesota, with Some Biographical Data and Records of Pioneer Families* (Faribault, 1938. 131 p.). The beginning of the parish is traced to the late 1840's, when Father Ravoux celebrated a mass in the home of Alexander Faribault. The booklet contains not only a history of the parish, but sketches of the priests who have served it, accounts of the parish schools and of the academy established at Faribault by the Dominican sisters in 1865, and lists of Catholic settlers. The latter are drawn from baptismal and other records, including a "'time book' used by James O'Leary in 1865, when the Milwaukee tracks were laid into Faribault." In a foreword, Archbishop John G. Murray expresses a desire to see histories similar to this parish record prepared "for every Church in the Archdiocese of St. Paul within the next year or two" in order to provide material "for the historian who is to record the story of this territory in time to have it ready for publication on the occasion of the centenary of the Chapel of Saint Paul" in 1941.

The West Union community in Scott County and its Lutheran church are the subjects of a historical sketch by the Reverend Richard Johnson in the *Belle Plaine Herald* for August 11. Swedish settlement at West Union is traced back to 1851, the eightieth anniversary of the church is noted, and sketches of the pastors who have served the congregation since 1858 are included.

"There is no doubt but this is the best place I ever saw for a young man to do well." This conclusion was reached in May, 1865, by Draton S. Hale, a Virginian who had lived earlier in Iowa, after spending less than a month near Sauk Centre in Stearns County. An enthusiastic letter about the region, written to a cousin in Virginia, has been preserved by members of the family; articles based upon it appear in the *Sauk Centre Herald* for August 4 and the *Long Prairie Leader* for September 1. "If I was you and I ever intended to go to a new country I would come here," Hale advised his cousin. "I am satisfied it is healthy and the water is good." The Southerner related that he had found "plenty of game and fish" in his new home. "The woods are full of plum bushes and they say they are full of fruit every year," he continues. "The soil is a black sandy loam and clay bottom. But it must be cold in the winter. One has to prepare for it."

The founding of the *Stillwater Gazette* on August 6, 1870, is recalled in the issue of this paper for August 6, 1938, where its sixty-eighth anniversary is noted. Attention is called to the fact that during the paper's "entire life time, W. E. Easton has directed its destiny."

The issue of the *Canby News* for September 16 marks the sixtieth anniversary of the paper, which was established by Addison Morrison in the fall of 1878. Among the articles of historical interest in the issue is a review of the early history of the community.



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TO  
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## ERRATA

- Page 219, line 16, for *Marodni Adresar*, read *Narodni Adresar*.  
 Page 356, line 22, for *Northwest Experiment Station*, read *Northeast Experiment Station*.  
 Page 457, line 20, for *Kansas State Teachers College*, read *Fort Hays Kansas State College*.



